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Cultural tourism as memories:
cultural representations as memories of European holiday
making among Edinburgh residents.

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And
The Scottish Centre for Cultural Management and Policy
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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Open
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Introduction

Whereas previous literature has tended to focus on tourism in terms of motivation, expectation, or presence (Prentice 1996), this thesis considers how tourism can be understood in terms of memory. During two periods of data collection (June 1997 to October 1997 and September 1998 to February 1999) interviews were conducted in the homes of respondents who had taken a European cultural holiday within the last three years. These respondents were selected from two 'middle-class' wards in Edinburgh. A full discussion of the methodology and process of analysis is presented in chapter two.

The first phase of the study focuses on incidents remembered by tourists who have undertaken a European cultural holiday and how these are conveyed through social discourse. The second phase investigates how tourists represent their memories in other tangible forms such as photographs and souvenirs. The meaning and symbolism of these memories are analysed using discourse analysis, while content analysis was used to provide an indication as to the extent of behaviours.

The thesis presents a number of models which might be used to provide an understanding of tourism as memory. These include Faulk and Dierking's model of 'interactive experience,' which was developed within a museum context; topological models such as those developed by Cohen (1979) and Smith (1978); hierarchical typologies such as those developed by Driver-Brown (1980) and Beeho and Prentice (1995); and the theory of laddering technique (Reynolds and Gutman 1988). Drawing on these models a

‘composite model of remembered experience’ is proposed which serves to integrate the literature and thus produce a better understanding of memory within the context of cultural tourism.

In the first three data chapters the ‘composite model of remembered experience’ is reviewed, based on data gathered during the first phase of the investigation. The interview data suggest that key areas of remembered experience within the cultural holidays are learning, authenticity and relaxation. These subjects therefore form the bases of chapters three, four and five and each subject is explored in the context of remembered experience. Chapters six and seven are based on the second phase of data collection and investigate the use of souvenirs and photograph as memory prompts. Again the ‘composite model of remembered experience’ provides the basis of these chapters, the emphasis in each chapter reflecting the points expressed in the respondents’ narrated memories. In addition to this, these chapters investigate the context of display and non-display, and question the extent to which such items are actually used as memory prompts. In each of the data chapters the potential benefits of recalling holiday memories (both privately and in public) are discussed, including the role such memories may play in enhancing past tourists’ appreciation of other cultures and the possibility of selecting certain memories in order to enhance social status.

The data chapters are framed by an initial chapter, in which relevant literature is reviewed, and a concluding chapter, which returns to the issues raised in chapter one, and

shows how the data may be used to further the understanding of both memory and cultural tourism.

Literature Review

1.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to 'set the scene' through a discussion of literature relevant to cultural tourism as memories. In the first half of the chapter, cultural tourism is placed in a wider context of 'new' tourism and modern trends, cultural tourism is defined and compared to related forms of tourism, such as heritage and ethnic tourism, and the implications of cultural tourism are reviewed. The chapter then shifts its focus to the importance of memory and the research which has been undertaken in the fields of psychology, history and tourism. The manner in which memories may be prompted and shared, thereby becoming tangible, is then considered with reference to social discourse, souvenirs and photographs. Finally, the chapter reviews existing models of tourism experience and, having discussed both their strengths and weaknesses, proposes a deductive composite model of remembered experience.

1.2. Cultural tourism in context

Global trends suggest that the era of mass tourism, which dominated since the 1960s, may be declining and that 'new' tourism is on the rise (Poon 1993). This 'new' tourism is an antithesis of the 'old', produced as a reaction to problems of mass tourism, such as over-crowding and pollution, as well as being a manifestation of new concerns and a more discriminating public. In defiance of package tours, there is a growing demand for the independent holiday, which allows greater choice and increased flexibility. This may be a result of increased affluence, education and opportunity to travel within western society. The trend has been further aided by the diffusion of information technology

allowing computerised reservations systems to become a flexible alternative to booking a package tour. Concerns about the effects of the sun's rays has lead to some consumers seeking alternative forms of holiday, while a desire to make constructive use of leisure time has caused many sun-seekers to incorporate additional elements into the traditional beach style holiday (Poon 1993; Poon 1994; Bywater 1993). A number of forms of tourism could be included under the umbrella of 'new' tourism, such as 'rural' tourism, 'ethnic' tourism, 'heritage' tourism and 'cultural' tourism.

An increase in the amount of leisure time individuals have, and the advent of paid holiday leave, continues to boost the demand for tourism. In 1989 fifty-one percent of people in the United Kingdom had travelled abroad, whilst another study showed that thirty-eight percent of the population felt that they had to travel to enjoy life fully and seventy-four percent agreed with the statement "I'm always thinking of new places to visit" (Poon 1993).

Giddens considers 'reflexivity' to be one of the consequences of modernity, this leads to social practices being 'constantly examined and reformed in the light of incoming information' (1990: 38). While the media (Giddens 1990) and increased levels of education throughout society have encouraged this, different levels of 'reflexivity' are still apparent in different segments of society, for example higher levels of education amongst the middle and upper classes create increased reserves of 'cultural capital' in these segments (Bourdieu 1979) or in other words these groups are more likely to have greater amounts of knowledge with which to judge new information. Meanwhile, as

travel becomes a way of life for an increasing number of people, so the consumers of tourism gain experience, demand new experiences and higher quality. At the same time, a growing segment has become more aware or 'mindful' of the places and peoples that they visit (Prentice 1996a; Moscardo 1996). Again this may be class-based to some extent (Crompton 1993).

The individual in a 'mindless' state is uncritical of information presented to him or her, does not seek alternative sources of information, and is reliant on 'categories and distinctions derived in the past' (Langer, Hatem, Joss and Howell 1989, cited Moscardo 1996), so that new information is categorised according to existing preconceptions, as opposed to leading to the formation of new concepts with which to understand a place and its culture. In contrast, the 'mindful' person will draw 'novel distinctions, examining information from new perspectives, and being sensitive to context... recognise that there is not a single optimal perspective, but many possible perspectives on the same situation' (Langer 1993, cited Moscardo 1996). The saying that 'travel broadens the mind' is perhaps most applicable to the 'mindful' tourist, who visits with a comparatively open mind and a willingness to explore new perspectives. The 'mindless' tourist, on the other hand, fails to observe his or her surroundings fully, classifies new experiences into pre-existing categories, thus confirming previously held beliefs, or chooses environments which are essentially similar irrespective of where the holiday is. Moscardo states that people 'are most likely to be mindful when they have an opportunity to control and influence a situation, when they believe the availability of information is relevant to them, and / or there is variety, novelty or surprise in the situation' (Moscardo 1996).

‘New’ tourism has the potential to fulfil the conditions of ‘mindfulness’ and as people take a more active role in the structuring and content of their holidays, it can be hoped that a new breed of understanding tourist is produced.

Sustainable tourism is another concept that is crucial to understanding the development of ‘new’ tourism. The key principles involved are:

- 1. Tourism should not damage the natural environment, and should be architecturally respectable.**
- 2. Tourism should aim to relieve pressure on tourist ‘hot spots’ and, by providing alternative attractions, assist regional development.**
- 3. Tourism should provide satisfying employment for the local population, without being allowed to dominate the economy.**
- 4. Whilst not discouraging growth, it is recognised that there are limits to growth that should not be exceeded.**
- 5. The role of the tourist is critical, visitors being encouraged to gain an in-depth understanding and knowledge of the area, its landscapes and peoples, thereby developing concern for and feeling protective of the host area.**
- 6. The long-term benefits or problems resulting from tourism must be considered, rather than taking a short-term perspective.**

(Moscardo 1996; Economic and Social Consultative Assembly 1992; Hughes 1995)

These strategies not only cater for growing numbers of consumers who have developed an awareness of environmental issues, but also aim to provide a higher quality of

experience as demanded by the experienced tourist, through environmental improvements, reduced overcrowding and increased mindfulness.

Cultural tourism is a sector of the market particularly suited to the 'new' era of tourism and its demands, being less dependent on season and specific natural resources, whilst also inviting tourists to learn more about the region which they visit, to establish contact with the local population, and to seek experiences beyond the traditional tourist package (Economic and Social Consultative Assembly 1992; Bywater 1993; Richards 1996b). The ability of cultural tourism to provide suitable opportunities for taking shorter holidays, or weekend breaks, also provides the degree of flexibility demanded by the 'new' tourist and while cultural tourism may take the form of package tours, independent travel is also very popular.

Yet, despite fitting so well into the new era of tourism, cultural tourism is, arguably, one of the oldest forms of tourism in Europe. The ancient wonders of Greece and Egypt inspired the Romans to engage in acts of 'cultural tourism', as they immersed themselves in the history and culture of the more ancient civilisations. The pilgrimages of the medieval ages have also been likened to modern cultural tourism, visiting areas of cultural importance and ironically leading to the formation of modern 'cultural itineraries', as tourists retrace sections of the pilgrimage routes (Richards 1996a). The use of the words 'tourist' and 'tourism' are thought to be derived from the aristocratic custom in the seventeenth century of taking a Grand Tour of the cities and other areas of interest in western Europe and, again, this has definite elements of what is considered today to be

‘cultural tourism’, having a combination of education and pleasure as its primary motivations and focusing on high culture. Towards the end of the seventeenth century attention moved to the appreciation of landscapes, influenced by the Romantic Movement. Then, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Europe saw the rise of museums, collecting artefacts from around the world for public consumption, and a growth in the cultural audience with the rise of the bourgeoisie. Even in the era of mass tourism, ‘must see’ cultural sites existed, such as the Louvre, the Eiffel Tower and Notre Dame which were on the visiting agenda for the majority of tourists to Paris in the 1960s (ibid.). Cultural tourism is not, therefore, a new, unprecedented phenomenon, but rather one that has resurfaced, all be it in a modified form, its popularity being promoted and developed by current trends.

Modern cultural tourism differs from that of the past in the extent of its consumption, and the forms of culture being consumed. Cultural tourism is no longer restricted to elements of ‘high’ culture, such as traditional museums and classical music. Rather, as postmodernism has caused the breakdown of the distinctions between ‘high’ and ‘low’ (or ‘popular’) culture, so the realm of cultural tourism has expanded to include elements previously excluded, such as popular music or theme parks. The scope of cultural tourism has been widened still further as the distinctions between ‘culture’ and ‘tourism’ and ‘every day life’ have faded, leading to activities such as sampling the local food, or even ‘soaking up the atmosphere’ all falling within the domain of cultural tourism (Richards 1996a). This makes cultural tourism extremely challenging to delimit and define.

1.3. The challenge of defining cultural tourism

1.3.1. Introduction

The definition of 'cultural tourism' is problematic for a number of reasons. There is a need to understand the two components from which cultural tourism is formed, neither 'culture' nor 'tourism' having straight-forward or undisputed definitions. Secondly, the use of the term has been broadened to such an extent that it is difficult to say what should and should not be included. This is not helped by the fact that most countries differ in their definition of the term. Presuming a definition of cultural tourism is agreed, further problems arise in deciding how to define who is and is not a cultural tourist. Can a single visit to a cultural attraction transform an entire holiday into a cultural tourism experience? Should motivation be the primary reference for classification, or should it be based on degree of cultural involvement?

1.3.2. Culture and tourism

Definitions of cultural tourism vary considerably in their scope, some being too broad and ambiguous to be of use, whilst others are little more than checklists of cultural activities undertaken by tourists. Others, however, are more valuable. For example, the Irish Tourist Board (Bord Failte) defines (European) cultural tourism as 'travel undertaken with the intention, wholly or in part, of increasing one's appreciation of Europe's cultural resources' (Bord Failte 1988:3). Importantly, it does not exclude tourists who may be incorporating other elements into their holiday but, on the other hand, it does not suggest a minimum commitment to cultural activities for the holiday to be classified as cultural.

The Economic and Social Committee of the European Community has defined cultural tourism as 'tourism which is connected both with the artistic and cultural heritage of a region and with its contemporary intellectual activity' (Economic and Social Consultative Assembly 1990: 22). As with the term 'cultural resources' in the previous definition, such cultural tourism not only includes visits to historical artefacts or places, but also the appreciation of contemporary artistic and cultural life, and potentially elements of both 'high' and 'low' culture.

Richards (1996a: 24) provides two definitions, the first being a technical, product-based definition. This defines cultural tourism as 'all movements of persons to specific cultural attractions, such as heritage sites, artistic and cultural manifestations, arts and drama outside their normal place of residence.' Whilst providing a fairly broad scope this definition necessarily excludes those experiences, which are more difficult to measure, such as the sampling of local cuisine and immersion in the daily life of the host community. This is, however, covered by the conceptual definition of cultural tourism as the 'movement of persons to cultural attractions away from their normal places of residence, with the intention to gather new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural needs' (ibid.). This conveys the broader sense of cultural tourism, but the use of the term 'cultural needs' is perhaps too vague, as taking a beach or skiing holiday might be seen as satisfying certain cultural needs, such as family bonding or obtaining social status through choice of holiday destination, tourism itself being a cultural need of some social groups.

From this the need to define what we mean by 'culture' is made apparent. In academic literature culture is seen in two distinct ways: *culture as process* and *culture as product*. Anthropologists and sociologists use 'culture' to mean the distinctive practices and beliefs of a social group. The boundaries of such groups are variable, and frequently overlap, so that one can speak the culture of a nation, a class, a corporation, or those pursuing a particular activity, and an individual may belong to several of these cultural groups at once (Richards 1996a). The focus here is on the 'process' by which culture is formed and modified. In this sense simply visiting a cultural group to which one does not belong could be construed as a form of cultural tourism, yet this is not what is generally understood by the term. Rather, cultural tourism also incorporates an understanding of culture as product, this being what is produced by individual or group activities to which certain meanings are attached (Richards 1996a). The focus of interest is, therefore, in the end result, or cultural artefact, as opposed to the process by which it is produced. However, to understand the artefact it is often necessary to have some knowledge of the social forces and cultural processes that lead to its development.

Within this a distinction can be made between 'high' culture, that which is perceived as having a high cultural value and which requires a deep level of cultural understanding, and 'low' culture, which has a lower value but is more accessible. Thus, classical music and the work of famous artists and architects might be classified as 'high' culture, while popular music, vernacular architecture and culinary techniques might be regarded as 'low' or 'popular' culture. Often, it appears that 'high' and 'low' culture are divided by proximity to the present, that which survives the passing of time being promoted to a higher level as the forces that produced it become more distant to contemporary culture,

thereby requiring a more specialised knowledge to understand and appreciate them fully. Cultural tourism can incorporate either, or both of these elements.

As noted above, not all countries agree on what to include among a list of their cultural assets. In Britain, industrial heritage is included but usually excluded in the rest of Europe, which tends to focus more upon a tradition of crafts and rural industry. In the Netherlands tulips are considered important and the National Trust for Scotland promotes the gardens in its care as distinct entities, but often they are considered as merely an appendage to examples of built heritage (National Trust for Scotland leaflet). Similarly, the inclusion of culinary traditions varies from country to country (Bywater 1993). Both Fladmark and Prentice argue that folklore and other less considered forms of heritage should also be included (Fladmark 1993; Prentice 1993) among Scotland's cultural assets. It would appear that each country, or the producers in these countries, promotes those elements which it considers most important in the formation of its cultural identity, this choice being important in itself. For this reason, it is perhaps less important that each country defines cultural tourism differently, as long as this is recognised when comparing statistics.

A tourist's motivation for travel may also be used to delimit the boundaries of cultural tourism. The Irish Bord Failte report (1988) distinguished between 'specific' cultural tourists - those who had travelled specifically to visit a cultural attraction and for whom it is an important motivating factor - and 'general' cultural tourists who choose their destinations for a combination of reasons. Similarly, Bywater suggests a division of

cultural tourism into three categories. The first category comprises 'culturally motivated' tourists who select their holidays on the basis of the cultural opportunities they offer. The second category comprises 'culturally inspired' tourists who visit internationally famous historic and cultural centres or sites such as Paris, Rome or the Rhine valley and engage in both cultural and other activities whilst there. Finally there are 'culturally attracted tourists' who primarily desire a beach or rural centred holiday, but also enjoy visiting one or two specific cultural attractions (Bywater 1993). The question arises as to whether the isolated excursions of the 'culturally attracted tourist' are sufficient to transform the experience into a cultural holiday. It is unlikely that it does, and perhaps it would better to refer to this market segment as cultural excursionists, as these are brief trips away from the coastal base, lakes or mountains.

It is also necessary to define what is meant by tourism. The definition used by the World Tourism organisation is, 'the activities of persons during their travel and stay in a place outside their usual place of residence, for a continuous period of less than one year for leisure, business, or other purposes' (Quoted in Richards 1996a: 20). Categories of tourist are broken down further into 'excursionists', who travel for less than twenty-four hours, and 'tourists' who stay longer. For the purpose of this thesis 'tourist' is used to describe the latter category only.

1.3.3. Heritage tourism and ethnic tourism

The dictionary definition of heritage is 'that which has been or may be inherited' (Oxford English Dictionary 1983), which could also be applied to culture. Using a more precise definition, heritage is 'that which a past generation has preserved and handed on to the

present and which a sufficient group of population wishes to hand on to the future' (Hewison 1989:6). This indicates that heritage involves a choice about what aspects of culture should be preserved and a concern for the conservation of the past. However, it should also be noted that much 'heritage' has been gained by accident of historical process, as opposed to planned conservation.

Cultural heritage, such as castles, country homes, folklore, cottage crafts and cuisine may be described as both culture and heritage. However, heritage tourism also encompasses natural heritage, which does not necessarily have a cultural component. However, the situation is complicated by the fact that, in recent years, areas of natural heritage have been promoted by incorporating cultural dimensions, such as trails following the lives of famous authors, or historic heroes (Jacques 1995; Simmons 1993). Further confusion arises due to the fact that in Britain cultural tourism is commonly called heritage tourism (Fladmark 1993; King 1994), whilst this is not so in other European countries. While heritage tourism does not exclude the current expression of culture (as it may be passed on to future generations) it tends to focus on the historical. In general terms, however, cultural tourism can be distinguished from heritage tourism due to its exclusion of natural heritage and from this it might be said that culture is a subcategory of heritage and that cultural tourism is an aspect of heritage tourism which is more likely to include reference to present cultural expression.

The boundaries of ethnic tourism, described by Graburn as 'a combination of culture and nature tourism' (Graburn 1978), and cultural tourism should also be discussed. Macintosh and Goeldner say that 'ethnic tourism is travelling for the purpose of observing the

cultural expressions and life-styles of truly ethnic peoples... Typical destination activities would include visits to native homes, attending dances and ceremonies, and possibly participating in religious rituals' (McIntosh and Goeldner 1990). Ethnic tourism therefore has much in common with cultural tourism, and can be considered as a form of cultural tourism. The main difference is the focus on exotic peoples and their way of life, whereas cultural tourism is used to refer to the experience of cultures which are more familiar.

1.3.4. Conclusion

To summarise, cultural tourism involves travel to a place outside a person's usual place of residence, for more than twenty-four hours, but less than a year, (if one stays for more than a year it is presumed that one is resident in that place, as opposed to visiting) with the intention of increasing one's appreciation of a region's cultural resources. It is not considered sufficient to 'absorb the atmosphere' alone. There should also be an element of the appreciation of cultural products, either of high or low culture. Similarly, a single visit to a cultural attraction is not seen as sufficient to transform a beach holiday into a cultural holiday. Rather, cultural activities should be the dominant occupation and motivation. Cultural tourism therefore excludes beach-or-sports-based holidaymakers for whom the local culture is at most a backdrop beyond their hotel and 'tourist ghetto' vicinity. Cultural tourism may include both historical and contemporary elements of culture, but is not concerned with the physical heritage of a region, unless it is culturally mediated. Whilst comprising similar activities, ethnic tourism is used to refer to visiting 'exotic' cultures while cultural tourism refers to those which although different are more familiar. This definition of cultural tourism was used when approaching potential

interviewees and was the basis of the filter questions, which are mentioned in chapter two.

1.4. The cultural tourism market and its implications

As Richards (1996) notes, there are a number of questions which surround the use of cultural resources by tourists. For example, how great is the demand for cultural tourism? What elements attract cultural tourists? Who are the tourists who use these cultural resources? How many cultural tourists are there, excluding excursionists from beach holidays and other forms of tourism?

A study by the Irish Bord Failte (1988), on behalf of the European Commission, estimated that there were almost 35 million international cultural tourists in the European Union during 1986, of which 31 million were 'general cultural tourists' (tourists visiting cultural attractions as part of a general holiday trip) and 3.5 million were 'specific cultural tourists' (tourists with a specific cultural motive for travelling) (Richards 1996a). The World Tourism Organisation estimated that thirty-seven percent of all trips have a cultural element and that by the end of the twentieth century this market would have a growth rate of fifteen percent annually (Bywater 1993). Richards (1996a) is sceptical of this, however, as the basis of the definition is somewhat uncertain and presumably includes excursionists. It is also difficult to measure the impact of cultural tourism in places which are frequented by large numbers of 'casual' tourists (Warren McHone and Rungeling 2000). Thus, whilst a large number of tourism studies assert that the demand for cultural tourism is growing, there is a lack of specific data to support this claim. From his own research Richards suggests more cautiously that tourists are important consumers

of culture throughout Europe, that there is some evidence to suggest that tourists have accounted for a growing proportion of cultural visits over the past twenty years, but it is doubtful that cultural tourism is expanding as a proportion of tourism (or 'new' tourism) as a whole. This is supported by other research which shows that the growth rate of heritage attractions has led to a saturation of the market (Middleton 1989), presumably because the growth of the market is not as rapid as presumed. This may partially explain why response levels in the current research were lower than initially predicted, as discussed in chapter two. However, as long as cultural tourism maintains its proportion of the tourism market it remains a significant area.

As noted in the previous discussion, the market has a great diversity and some sectors are more popularly included in cultural itineraries than others. This is illustrated below, by the 'perceived potential of seventeen stated types of cultural tourism' produced as part of a study for the European Commission in 1988 by the Irish Bord Failte and Brandy Shipman Martin (quoted in Bywater 1993). These are listed in order of perceived importance, from greatest to least: painting; architecture; crafts; language; folk dance; classical music; literature; ballet; classical archaeology; sculpture; opera; pop music; jazz; drama; contemporary dance; religion; industrial archaeology. The low performance of industrial archaeology may be due to its lack of promotion in a number of European countries, while the exclusion of food from the survey possibly reflects the lesser interest of the British in this area.

An important feature of cultural tourism is that whilst it may not feature highly in the design of a main annual holiday, it may be more important in the motivation of a second

holiday or short break. For example, nineteen percent of Europeans spend their main holidays in cities, while a further twenty-five percent take their second holidays in cities (Davidson 1992). As the majority of 'high' cultural attractions and activities are centred in cities, this provides a reasonable indication of the importance of cultural tourism, although these holidays might include other activities such as shopping, visiting friends and relatives or enjoying the night-life. To attract more visitors and extend the season, high calibre events, winter festivals as well as themed routes and itineraries have been developed throughout Europe.

A number of social and economic factors influence the participation of individuals in cultural tourism. The link between education and culture established by the Grand Tour remains a strong one. For example, in the UK fifty-eight percent of those attending museums had continued their education beyond the age of nineteen, compared to twenty-five percent who had left school at sixteen (Richards 1996a). A similar pattern is apparent in Sweden. This is perhaps not too surprising as levels of education generally parallel levels of cultural capital, which enhances the appreciation of cultural assets (Richards 1996b; Economic and Social Committee 1990). These groups have the contexts in which to place objects and thereby understand them (Prentice 1996a). Participation is also closely linked to socio-economic status, those of a higher social class having the higher levels of income, mobility and cultural capital required to access cultural tourism (Richards 1996b; Prentice 1994). Those whose occupations are related to culture also appear to have a greater attraction to cultural tourism than those in other occupations (Richards 1996a) perhaps also due to the possession of cultural capital. It was for this

reason that the current research focused on middle-class cultural tourists (see chapter two, section 3.2).

Participation in cultural tourism is also influenced by age. Interviews with foreign tourists to European countries in 1988 indicated that thirty-nine percent of tourists over the age of forty-five saw 'museums, historic buildings and cities' as a motivation to visit, compared with thirty-three percent of tourists aged between thirty and forty-five, and twenty-nine percent under thirty years old. It is also relevant to note that these figures are tempered by the fact that younger people form a higher percentage of the total number of tourists. The advent of paid holidays, combined with an increasing pressure to take shorter breaks from work, may also be seen as a contributing factor in participation (Richards 1996a). This is of relevance when considering the ages of respondents in the current study, as discussed in chapter two section 3.2.

The Economic and Social Committee of the EU suggests that cultural tourism leads to a number of benefits, including tourists gaining 'a direct understanding and appreciation of local population's current achievements and their attitudes, way of thought and customs. This may even encourage him (sic) to be tolerant, whereas once he (sic) may have been hostile, disdainful or intrusively curious' (Economic and Social Committee 1990). This suggests the participation of 'mindful' tourists, and optimism that cultural experiences will not reinforce cultural stereotypes. Pearce (1981) found that those with foreign holiday experience were also more knowledgeable about and broadly sympathetic towards foreign countries, people and behaviour. However, it is unclear whether travel caused these attitudes, or whether these attitudes inspired travel. These issues are

discussed with reference to the remembered experiences of cultural tourists in chapter three, section 4.2 and section 4.3, in which both sides of the argument are revealed.

The aim that cultural understanding will lead to a more closely united Europe also exists in tension with the need to maintain sufficient cultural diversity to sustain the curiosity of cultural tourists. Samuel (1994) suggests that as national destiny becomes uncertain so the importance of 'memory places' grows in significance, the past providing a sense of identity which the present fails to provide. If this is so, fading boundaries in Europe might ironically increase interest in regional heritage and the adoption of the heritage of regions outside the area in which someone lives. On the other hand, Herbert (1995) suggests that to create a united Europe it would be necessary to create a new, common heritage, perhaps focusing on urban heritage, built heritage providing a balance between common experience and display of cultural expression without requiring linguistic mediation.

Whether or not cultural tourism aids the unification of Europe, it is seen as an important form of sustainable tourism due to a lesser dependence on fine weather. A significant number of culturally based, short-break holidays are taken outside peak holiday periods, thus spreading seasonal fluctuations more evenly over the year (Richards 1996b; Economic and Social Committee 1990). Also, the extension of the tourist season and promotion of alternative sites of interest have the potential to stimulate regional development through the creation of jobs and revenue (Economic and Social Committee 1990). However, when considering whether it is truly a sustainable form of tourism, this must be balanced with the potential damage to historical buildings through over-visiting.

1.5. The importance of memory

To date most research in tourism has concentrated on 'motivation' (Pearce 1993), 'expectation' (Walmsey and Young 1996; van Reckom 1994) 'presence' (Beeho and Prentice 1995) and 'non presence' (Davies and Prentice 1995; Selby and Morgan 1996) as key elements of the visiting experience. In comparison, little attention has been given to the memory of such visits. In many cases it is presumed that the memory of the experience and the experience itself are synonymous. Consequently, studies of tourist presence may be carried out after the tourist has returned to his or her place of residence, without much consideration being given to how this may affect the reliability of the data. Tourist expectations have been compared with actual experience (Pocock 1992; Botterill and Crompton 1996), but seldom has a comparison been made between experience and how this is remembered.

Prentice (1993 and 1996a) suggests that the visitor experience extends beyond the time of the visit and can be spatially divorced from the attractions themselves, alluding to theories of fantasy, as well as symbolic and derived consumption. Within tourism there is the potential to study the importance of memories at one of two stages. Memories of previous experiences, including other visits, may be invoked whilst visiting a particular site (as shown in chapter three, section 2.3). The nostalgic element has also been studied to some extent in the context of immersive theme parks (Beeho and Prentice 1995, 1996 & 1997), whilst memory of comparative experiences has important implications for the tourist's awareness of quality at attractions (Cunneel and Prentice 2000).

Individuals may also remember a visit having returned home. Although little research has been done in this area it has been suggested that memory of a holiday may be a means of sustaining an individual through a period of work (Graburn 1978; Cohen 1979). As the memory and sense of benefit derived from a holiday fade, it becomes necessary to take another. This concept is based on a dichotomy of work versus leisure, in which leisure becomes a form of escape, rather than the idea that a holiday might be an extension of every-day interests, as Poon suggests is common in 'new tourism' (Poon 1993). Therefore, chapter five (section 5.2) considers whether holidays and the memory of holidays continue to be a sustaining force, or whether other elements are seen as more important.

Another perspective proposes that the retention of experiences through memory may lead to some market segments becoming bored by repeating the same holiday experiences (Urry 1990; Sontag 1978), and thus there is a quest to seek new experiences within a place previously visited, or to find new places to visit. This seems to presume that individuals are 'mindful' of the places they visit, noticing the variations between places, and purposefully seeking to find new activities and sites. It is interesting to contemplate how such urges may be tempered by endearment to place, as discussed below.

Psychological literature has tended to consider memory in terms of the capacity for precise learning. Much of this research is based on clinical tests, in which people are required to recall lists of nonsense words or complex stories, as opposed to testing

memory in the natural context of daily recall strategies (Baddeley 1982; Baddeley 1996; Neisser 1982). This approach, combined with a view of heritage as providing an educational function, has led to the effectiveness of various forms of interpretation being tested. Ryan and Dewar (1995), for example, tested visitors on their cognitive recall of information communicated to them by guides.

However, the human memory is notoriously inaccurate and psychologists have attempted to provide some explanation for this. It has been recognised that secondary information is imposed over the perception of the original event. The integration of the two leads to the formation of one 'reconstructed' memory (Loftus and Palmer 1982). This was demonstrated in a study which showed how the use of suggestive words could influence the perceived damage caused by a car crash (Loftus and Zanni 1975; Loftus and Palmer 1982), while Ross (1982) demonstrated how implicit theories can affect the accuracy of personal recall in the case of behaviour and attitudes. Following this lead, Connelly and Brown (1994) considered the effect of social-desirability-bias and memory recall on reported contributions to a wild life income tax check-off programme and Zhou (2000) considered the impact of memory on the recall of the amounts spent whilst on holiday. Falk and Dierking (1992) reflect this perspective in their analysis of 'The Museum Experience'. Although the post-visit experience is described in terms of what is 'learnt', learning is defined as the creation of meaningful, long-term learning derived from the integration of previous knowledge, the specific experience, and subsequent reinforcement, rather than a concern for the number of facts attained from the visit alone. This is the understanding of learning which is used as the basis of chapter three.

The inaccuracies of memory are also an area of consideration in historical works. With the concern for historical accuracy texts which rely on popular memory, interpretation of folklore and such like are not as highly esteemed as those which provide indisputable facts (Samuel, 1994). Arguably, this provides only a partial view, for it fails to consider how history is interpreted and the meaning which people attach to historical events. For this reason Samuel (1994: ix) argues that although memory is not 'a passive receptacle or storage system, an image bank of the past' it remains important due to its dynamic element and that 'what it contrives symptomatically to forget is as important as what it remembers'. Although of great importance, this is a point which is seldom recognised in historical or tourism literature. Consequently, the current study considers the experiences which people attempt to forget or to suppress, (in particular see chapter five, section 5.4) as well as the memories which are preferred (see chapter six, section 4.2 and chapter seven, section 3.4).

The need to recognise the importance of context, and to consider a more holistic approach to memory, is gradually being realised. To this end, Falk and Dierking (1992) proposed a model of 'Interactive Experience', to illustrate how museum experiences are influenced by a combination of personal, social, and physical contexts. Each visitor's personal context is unique, as each has a different mix of experiences, knowledge, interests, motivations and concerns from which is formed a 'personal agenda' or set of expectations for the visit. An individual's behaviour is influenced by the interaction with others, in the social context. The physical context includes architecture, the 'feel' of a building, as well as the objects and artefacts contained in them, to which the individual

responds. The differing balance between these elements forms, for each individual, a unique experience and memory of the event.

Through the use of the model it was shown that museum visits form both 'episodic' and 'semantic' memories, episodic memories consisting of autobiographical information about events in one's own life and semantic memories comprising facts about the world in general as the result of some kind of cognitive processing. This is supported by other studies, including Stevenson's study of the long term impact of interactive exhibits (1991), a study by McManus (1996) on memory as an indicator of the impact of museum visits, and a study by Masberg and Silverman (1993) on visitor experiences at heritage sights. In each case episodic memories were found to be predominant, activities (interacting with exhibits, having a picnic, walking), companions, site personnel, built heritage (its function and appearance), nature (trees and grass), experiences and emotions being remembered in addition to learnt facts (Masberg and Silverman, 1993; McManus 1996). Despite the potential for factual learning at both museums and other heritage sites, it is not too surprising that episodic memories should feature so highly, given that such visits usually include a social agenda, and also provide a source of entertainment. However, these studies demonstrate the need to recognise the importance of episodic memory in the experience of cultural attractions. These studies also raise the issue that episodic memory might be a condition for semantic memory, that it is easier to recall facts if one can remember the context in which they were learnt.

There is potential to develop the model of interactive experience to provide an understanding of how the individual experience of cultural tourism is remembered (see this chapter section 1.8 below). As in the museum context, personal and social contexts remain important, but additional dimensions of the physical context should also be considered. In this regard, the current study is not limited to visitor's memories of specific cultural attractions, or museums, but also considers the wider visiting context including walks around a town or city, and meals in a restaurant.

Relf (1976) suggests that all areas have a sense of place, although the extent to which this is recognised by an individual may vary considerably, due to both the nature of the place and the person's degree of involvement with it. A sense of place is derived from having a number of distinct elements, which combined provide a place with an individual and meaningful character and which makes it potentially easier to remember. The opposite of this is 'placelessness', which is typified by bland landscapes with 'a meaningless pattern of buildings, monotonous and chaotic' (Cullen 1971 quoted in Relf 1976). As with a museum display which was repetitive and lacking interpretation, the details of a placeless landscape are likely to be forgotten, the uninvolved visitor will remember at best how uninteresting it was.

A sense of place is also affected by the degree of investment one has in that place, how well one knows it and whether one feels a sense of involvement and belonging. In the case of cultural tourism, the degree of cultural understanding which an individual achieves is likely to be influenced by this. Similarly, Ashworth and Voogd (1994)

illustrated that visitors to a city consume a spatially different area to that consumed by the local residents. Typically, the tourists focus their gaze on the city centre and those areas of particular historical interest. Repeat visitors, however, may begin to explore other areas, especially if contact with the local population occurs, leading the tourist to develop a more 'native' sense of place, thus recalling a different set of memories to the 'typical' tourist.

Masberg and Silverman state that, 'through the self-selective nature of memory, we store recollections which are meaningful to us' (Masberg and Silverman 1996:21). We are likely to remember those things which we consider to be important. It is seldom that we remember something if a similar event occurs every day, rather our memories focus on those things which make an impression and are, in some way, unusual (Baddeley 1996). For example, a person might remember the first train journey he or she makes, but will be unlikely to remember other journeys if he or she travels by train every day, unless a journey is marked by an unusual event such as the presence of a disruptive passenger. In the context of cultural tourism this may explain why places which are 'different' or 'unusual' stand out in the memory of past tourists (see chapter three, section 2.4; chapter four, section 4.3; chapter six section 3.3; chapter seven, section 3.3). However, Wright and Gaskell (1992) argue that incidents need to be more than 'abnormal' to be memorable and suggest 'that enduring and vivid episodic memories result in part from the fact that they have emotional value' (Whitehouse, 1998). This argument may partially explain why trivial irritations tend to be forgotten and only those which cause considerable annoyance or frustration are recalled (in particular see chapter five, section 4).

1.6. Memory and social discourse

Memories remain individual and private if they are not articulated and can be triggered by a number of stimuli, both verbal and sensual. However, to share or discuss an event which has passed there is a need to transmit the memory through speech or writing (Fentress 1992). A person's memories of a holiday are most often communicated to others by recounting a story formed from elements of the experience (Pearce 1991). Pearce investigated the nature of travel stories which are recounted and how this may differ depending on the audience (for example, to close friends, family members, working colleagues, or general acquaintances). The results of the study suggest that travellers are selective about to whom they tell their stories. It also shows how memories can be manipulated to suit the social context. Just as we adapt our behaviour at a cultural attraction to suit the environment and any companions sharing the experience (Falk and Dierking 1992), so our stories derived from these situations are adapted to suit the audience. The spoken memory is, therefore, the result of a two-tiered selection, firstly of what we want to remember and then which of the remembered incidents we wish to articulate. The spoken memory is also restricted by the need to translate experiences into words, the description of which may be very difficult. Where description of colour, smell, or novel setting is required, people are often reliant on a suitable comparison being available, which is sometimes only an approximation of what is being described. Due to these factors, the capture of complete memory is impossible and therefore research is reliant on social discourse. As discussed in chapter two, the interview, while obtaining only a partial memory of an individual's experience, may be considered apt because it

approximates the manner in which memories are communicated from one person to another. Meanwhile, the manner in which memories are shared and potentially altered by the social context is a recurrent theme in the thesis (see chapter three, section 5.2; chapter five, sections 5.3 and 5.4; chapter seven, section 2.4).

Individual and social memory is closely linked, as a collective reconstruction of events is likely to occur within groups who discuss a visit after its occurrence (Connerton 1989). Halwachs (1992) argues that it is through membership of a social group that individuals are able to acquire, to localise and to recall their memories. Often memory is used in order to reply to a question someone else has asked, or to form a story. If an individual within the group forgets a particular episode, or remembers it differently, other members attempt to prompt the individual's memory by providing their recollections of the event (Connerton 1989). Although social memory can, in many cases, be regarded as an expression of collective experience, the sharing of experience leading to shared memory, it is also possible that where memories are contested within a group one version of the past could be imposed over an alternative version. Irrespective of whether the memory is 'real', 'reconstructed' or even fictional, it may become the accepted version of events by all members of the group (Fentress 1992).

1.7. Souvenirs

A souvenir is more than just an object obtained while on holiday. As Belk explains: 'Possessions are a convenient means of storing the memories and feelings that attach our sense of past. A souvenir may make tangible some otherwise intangible experience'

(Belk 1988), or as Graburn puts it: 'souvenirs are tangible evidences of travel that are often shared with family and friends, but what one really brings back are memories of experiences' (Graburn 1978). The significance of the souvenir lies in the relationship between the object and the experience, the ability of the object to symbolise, exemplify or in some other way 'capture' the remembered experience (see chapter six, sections 2, 3 and 4.2). Like other external memory aids, the souvenir has potential to prompt the memory (Harris 1982) and as such provides an easier route to access the past than relying on spontaneous memory. The souvenir also provides an individual with a memory cue which is independent of social discourse (see chapter six, section 4.3 for examples of this), but which can be used to illustrate conversation.

The purchasing of souvenirs is not a recent phenomenon, as the origin of souvenirs may date back to the collection of relics during the crusades, or beyond. Henderson (1974) suggests that to collect such items is instinctual, a view that may be exaggerated by a consumer orientated society, but it is nevertheless true that few tourists return from a holiday without some token to remember it by, and often the collection of souvenirs forms an important part of the visiting experience (Beard 1992; Bywater 1993). Souvenirs may be obtained to provide proof of the travel experience (Graburn 1978), although the means by which they do so may vary considerably. Gordon (1986) lists five types of souvenir which can act as 'sacred icons'. These are:

1. Pictorial images (for example, photographs and postcards);
2. Pieces-of-the-rock (which can range from pebbles through sea shells to pinecones and feathers);

3. Symbolic shorthand (such as a miniature Eiffel Tower or toy Loch Ness monster);
4. Markers (for example a t-shirt with a place name on it) and
5. Local Product (such as cheese from France, or local crafts).

In another classification system, souvenirs fall into broader categories, those of 'exterior sites', which are most often purchased representations, and souvenirs of 'individual experience', which are mostly samples not generally available as consumer goods, such as stones or hotel menus and used tickets (Stewart 1984). Thus, a theatre programme or t-shirt might be purchased as a custom made souvenir of the performance, while the entrance ticket showing the seat in which the person sat would be a non-commercial and personal souvenir of the experience. Stewart suggests that, unlike souvenirs of exterior sites which may be displayed singularly, those of individual experience are often collected together to form scrapbooks and such like, the display of such items requiring a greater degree of contextualisation to be valued. While useful in classifying objects these definitions do not address why certain souvenirs are considered particularly special, or act as better memory prompts than others. In contrast, this study uses the meanings which respondents associate with their souvenirs as a means of classification, in an attempt to show why certain souvenirs inspire clear memories.

'The souvenir is by definition always incomplete' (Stewart 1984:136). It is only a sample of a place or experience. It is not possible to bring home an entire beach, or monument, but it is possible to return with shells or miniature representations. The object can only evoke the memory of this, but never entirely recoup it. It is important that it is only a

fragment from the past, because if the entire experience were available it would not be necessary to construct a supplementary narrative discourse to explain the souvenir in personal terms (Stewart 1984). As Douglas and Isherwood (1979:72, cited in Belk 1988) explain, 'to think that a single item can successfully inform others about us is equivalent to thinking that a single word from a poem can convey the meaning it creates in the context of the poem'. In this, gathering souvenirs differs from finding objects for a collection, as the collection always has a possibility of completion. Where a certain type of souvenir, such as a costumed doll, or a bookmark is obtained on each holiday, a collection is formed of those items, but it fails to provide a collected experience of all the holidays. In a collection the relevance of an item is 'internal' to the collection as the items are compared; souvenirs have an 'external' reference, normally the place from which they originate. Furthermore, it is possible that souvenirs may lose their reference to a holiday, their original purpose, as a collection of similar objects grows (see chapter six, section 4.3).

Although some items may be kept as reminders or souvenirs, of the everyday past, holiday souvenirs are collected during periods of 'sacred time', these are periods which are out of the ordinary and thus separated from the profane time of the every day working world (Graburn 1978; Belk 1989; Stewart 1984). Furthermore, the place in which the souvenir originated may be considered to have sacred properties, being separate from the normal realm of experience and perhaps being the focus of personal, religious or cultural pilgrimage (Belk 1989). The souvenir offers a means of preserving the essence of a one-

off encounter (Stewart 1984) and, at the same time, may give a degree of positive contamination (Belk 1989).

Graburn (1989) suggests that each tourism style generates its own type of souvenirs, an appropriate representation of the experience. Littrell et al (1994) found that different market segments were attracted to different types of souvenir, but arguably the vehicle chosen as an appropriate souvenir says as much about the chooser, his or her preferences and tastes, as about what the object represents (Stewart 1984). Therefore, it may not be surprising that middle-class cultural tourists perceive the objects which they purchase to be “quality momentos” (see chapter six, section 3.1) As Beard’s analysis of postcard selection at the British Museum shows, a souvenir may be chosen not only as a reminder of the visit, but also as a link with other interests or experiences. For this reason, postcards of the Gayer-Anderson Cat, the Horse of Selene and other exhibits which represent familiar things are as popular as views of the museum (Beard 1992). This argument is endorsed in chapter six section two.

The context of the souvenir should also be considered, as this can influence how the object is interpreted. Beard (1992) explains how a souvenir, such as a postcard of the Rosetta Stone, does not derive its symbolic importance from what it says, since no translation is offered, or its appearance, but from its context. The fact that the message, written in three languages, aided the translation of Egyptian hieroglyphs links the stone to the general mystery surrounding ancient Egypt and the appeal of hieroglyphs. The modern history of the stone’s recovery has some importance. It is also one of the most

famous exhibits in the museum and as such is not only an object of pilgrimage, but is also seen as an icon of the British Museum just as the Mona Lisa has become synonymous with the Louvre.

The souvenir's context and frequency of presentation within the home is also of significance. As mentioned above, the souvenir may be used as the focus of social discourse; equally it may be privately consumed or put away and forgotten. Either way, the souvenir is relocated from the physical context in which it was produced and the discourse that surrounds its production, to the private realm of the home and potentially to the discourse of individual experience (Stewart 1984). Belk argues that the souvenir can be displayed either singularly, or as part of a collection, but to retain a sacred quality it should be separated from other objects of a similar, but mundane kind, or revered through ritual (Belk 1989). It is for this reason, perhaps, that tourist dishcloths and plates, picturing a visited place, are often not used as cloths or plates, but hung as pictures, while pebbles and shells are made into displays. Other objects, such as place mats, ashtrays, or vases are used as intended, but in a sense remain on display, and are not usually damaged through use. On the other hand, the dishcloth that is used may not only cause the print to fade, but through lack of attention to its image, its function as a souvenir may also fade thus becoming just another household dishcloth. Other souvenirs require rituals to maintain their role, such as showing photographs to friends and family. Chapter six, section 4.3 investigates these ideas.

Different souvenirs have different life spans. For example, a food product will be consumed within a week or so of return, clothing may be kept for several years, while other objects may be disposed of when they lose their ornamental value. In some cases, therefore, it is possible that a memory will outlive a souvenir; whilst in others the souvenir may be kept even though the memory of its origins has faded.

The authenticity of the souvenir is another aspect which needs to be considered. Things which are used by the host community, such as local clothing, foods, and craft items, possess a greater degree of 'authenticity' than objects designed specifically for the tourist market (Stewart 1984). Although the term 'authenticity' is somewhat problematic (Wang 2000), in this context it infers that an object is 'real' in that it is what it claims to be and has a strong connection with the place in which it is purchased. Thus, a tourist would expect 'authentic' European crafts to have been made locally, if not in the town, at least in the region, or country, as opposed to being 'made in Taiwan'. However, if the local products do not accord with the tourist's image of the region and its people, their authenticity may be doubted and objects that provide a stereotyped, or stylised image may be preferred (Cohen 1993). What the tourist wants to remember will also play an important part in this, the image of a local in traditional costume being chosen, even if this is seldom worn in the present day (Albers and James 1988). The souvenir will, therefore, not necessarily show how a place is, but might instead confirm how it is believed to be.

Second hand souvenirs, including postcards and presents brought back by other people, as well as objects found in second hand shops, also lack authenticity. They are evidence of other places visited, but they do not exist in a sufficiently personalised context. While the object may be appreciated and valued as a gift, it is unable to communicate to the recipient the holiday as it was experienced by the tourist and it therefore lacks the quality of a souvenir.

1.8. Photographs

Photographs are the most common type of souvenir for the contemporary tourist. As with other souvenirs, the photograph is valued for the memories it calls forth of people, occasions and places, and as with other forms of souvenir the photographic image provides evidence of travel, adding to a spoken description of a place and experience. The photograph appears to capture a moment in time, but this is only a fragment of the past for others to view. The photograph, however, has dimensions which other souvenirs lack.

Photography appears to be a means of transcribing reality as opposed to symbolising it, due to the naturalistic image which is produced, and the popular belief that the camera does not lie (Albers and James 1988). However, the camera can be as selective as our memories are. The photograph is not a passive record of reality, but is framed by the values and classification of knowledge that the photographer brings to the act of

recording (In Visible Light, Exhibition Guide 1997). As Urry (1995) explains, 'photography is a socially constructed way of seeing and recording'. Only certain subjects are considered appropriate to be captured by the photograph. There is a conscious attempt to capture the 'best' of everything, the most scenic views and the table at which everyone is smiling. The dingy back street and the hung-over companion are not suitable views, nor is the rural scene which is marred by telephone lines (Urry 1990). The choice of what to photograph is governed by concepts of what it is worth remembering, which produces a focus on the exotic and strange as well as the happy moments (Albers and James 1988). The choice is also restricted by concepts of what a picture should look like (Sontag 1978). These images are firstly chosen at the site and then in many cases further editing occurs as the 'best' photographs are placed in albums (Belk 1988). The 'reality' portrayed is narrowed still further by the limitations of the media. The photograph is unable to convey sounds and smells, while even conveying a sense of size, height and depth can pose problems if there is no means to measure the scale. (Videos have the ability to capture movement and sound, but still have their limitations.) Yet, the power of the photograph 'stems from its ability to pass off as a miniaturisation of the real, without revealing either its constructed nature or its ideological content' (Urry 1995). These points are raised in chapter seven.

Urry (1990) discusses how the tourist's gaze can change over time and notes that currently romantic ideals prevail. This view idealises the past and places associated with the past. Consequently, historical places are expected to be 'beautiful' and 'unspoilt' by modern features such as traffic and telephone wires. However, when taking a photograph

the educated tourist may not only be influenced by tourist images, but also by those produced in journalism, and therefore seek this interpretation of reality. Also, photography is an art form for which there are 'rules' of composition to be obeyed to produce a 'good' picture.

It has been suggested that the camera has also altered our perception of the world and often shapes our travel experience (Albers and Jones 1988; Urry 1990; Urry 1995; Sontag 1978). Landscapes, people and artefacts all become things to be captured by the photograph, transformed into images which can be possessed by the tourist and taken home, unlike the real items (Urry 1995). Rather than enjoying an uninterrupted flow of present experiences there is a process of stopping, taking a photograph and moving on. Having captured the view, it can be left behind without regret to be consumed again in the form of a photograph as and when the individual requires (Johnson and Thomas 1992; Sontag 1978). Conversely, people feel that they must not miss seeing particular scenes for the fear of missing a photo opportunity (Sontag 1978). Ironically, the quest for photographs may lead to a reduced visiting time at the attraction itself and thereby erode the holiday experience which the tourist seeks to capture in the photograph.

Unlike the mass-produced souvenir and post-card view, the photograph provides the opportunity to make a personalised image of the experience (see chapter seven, sections 2.2 and 7.5). This is particularly so when the traveller is fore-grounded in the picture, immutable evidence that they were there (Crang 1996). The photographic images used on the postcards and in the holiday brochures tell the tourist what to expect of the destination

and this becomes the reality to seek out and record. Duplication of the image is required to show that the tourist has indeed seen the place, exactly as it was meant to be. As Carpenter writes, 'The American tourist does more than see the Eiffel Tower. He photographs it exactly as he knows it from the posters. Better still, he has someone photograph him in front of it. Back home, that photo reaffirms his identity within the scene' (1973: 6 cited Sontag 1978).

However, this perspective is at odds with the concept of mindfulness. It suggests that the tourist pays little attention to the detail of his surroundings whilst on holiday other than to consider their photographic worth. Although it explains the actions of the tourist who tries to see as much as possible in the short time he or she has available, it is perhaps less appropriate for the cultural tourist seeking cultural experiences, for whom the pictures may function as notebooks of experience.

While cultural tourists are still likely to take a number of photographs, their chosen activities will often place them in venues where photography is not allowed or easily achieved, such as theatres, galleries and museums. A desire to remember, not only the place and the artefacts, but also the experience and its message might lead the cultural tourist to spend longer consuming the experience at an attraction, than the 'stop, click, move on' process would allow for. The urgency of collecting photographs in these cases may also be reduced by the availability of programmes and postcards at such sites, which also provide memory prompts.

Photography involves both selection, as discussed above, and elaboration. A picture may 'tell a thousand words', but it cannot explain its own context, what happened before or after, what was just around the corner and so on. Pocock's study of photographs taken of Prebend's bridge in Durham demonstrates that memories can both differ from photographic representation and be richer (Pocock, 1982). Perception of scale and form can lead to memory to create a distorted picture, but the limitations of the media mean that the memory can add details, which the photograph is unable to convey (see chapter seven, section 3.1). For this reason, the photograph requires interpretation through social discourse, to convey the memory it is meant to have captured. It is possible that as the independent memory fades, that which the picture reveals becomes a closer approximation of that memory and may eventually become the memory itself. Equally, the event may be forgotten altogether, causing the photograph to lose its significance and be discarded. Consequently, this raises the issue of what strategies people adopt to 'manage' their photographs, or whether they are left unsorted and un-referenced (chapter seven, section 4.3).

1.9. Models of tourist experience

Within the tourism literature a number of models have been developed which attempt to facilitate the understanding of tourism as experience (Prentice 1997). Five styles of model or typology are of particular relevance to the remembered experience of cultural holidays: these being typological models, the ASEB hierarchical typology, the model of interactive experience, the laddering technique and the insider-outsider typology. These models vary considerably in scope, design and focus, each offering some insight into how tourists experience places that they visit. However, it is postulated that individually none of these models offers a full understanding of remembered experiences.

Typological models such as those developed by Cohen (1979) and Smith (1978) demonstrate that different tourists may seek different experiences from a single attraction. Thus, while one person may visit a place to learn about its history, another may appreciate its aesthetic qualities. These models are of particular value in understanding the segmentation of the tourist market, different tourists being motivated to visit destinations for very different reasons and enjoying different experiences while there. Focusing on types of experience within a cultural holiday, tourists might be classified according to whether they appreciate opportunities for learning or seeking authentic experiences, or time to relax (see figure 1.1). Within each of these segments further types could be identified based, for example, on how learning takes place, or the type of authenticity that is sought.

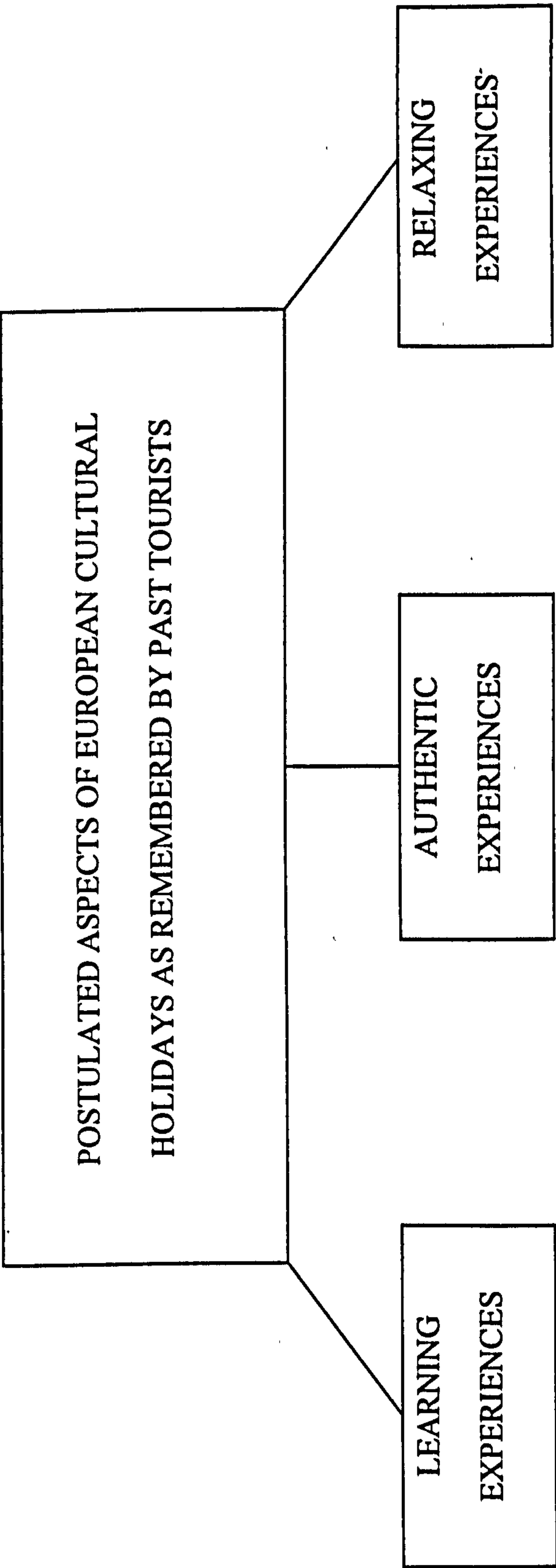


Figure 1.1.

A drawback of this type of model is that it has been used to classify individuals according to a single type of experience that is sought. While this is effective if one type of experience is obviously dominant, difficulties of classification arise when individuals seek a number of different types of experience. During a cultural holiday certain incidents may be remembered for offering an opportunity to relax while others provide a learning experience. Holidays may be structured to incorporate both aspects separately, for example one week being spent looking at cultural attractions and a second week spent occupied with 'family activities' on a beach or similar location. However, it is presumed that two or more experiential types could overlap, for instance a single incident being remembered because it offered a learning opportunity and was considered to be authentic. In other cases overlap might occur between learning experiences and relaxing experiences because learning could also be considered relaxing. Thus, while each of these experiences could be discussed separately, the fact that individuals might constantly shift from one mode of experience to another makes classification of individuals according to this scheme somewhat dubious.

Developing the work of Driver and Brown, the ASEB hierarchical typology, considers experience as a chain in which activities take place in settings, which create experiences, which in turn produce benefits as an output (Beeho and Prentice 1995; Driver, Brown, Stankey and Gregoire 1987; Haas, Driver and Brown 1980; Manning 1986). Following this concept a tourist might remember looking at an information panel or listening to a guide (activities) whilst visiting the museum or castle (settings), which produces a

learning experience and results in certain information being learnt (benefits) see figure 1.2. Experiences can also produce non-benefits, such as lowered self-esteem.

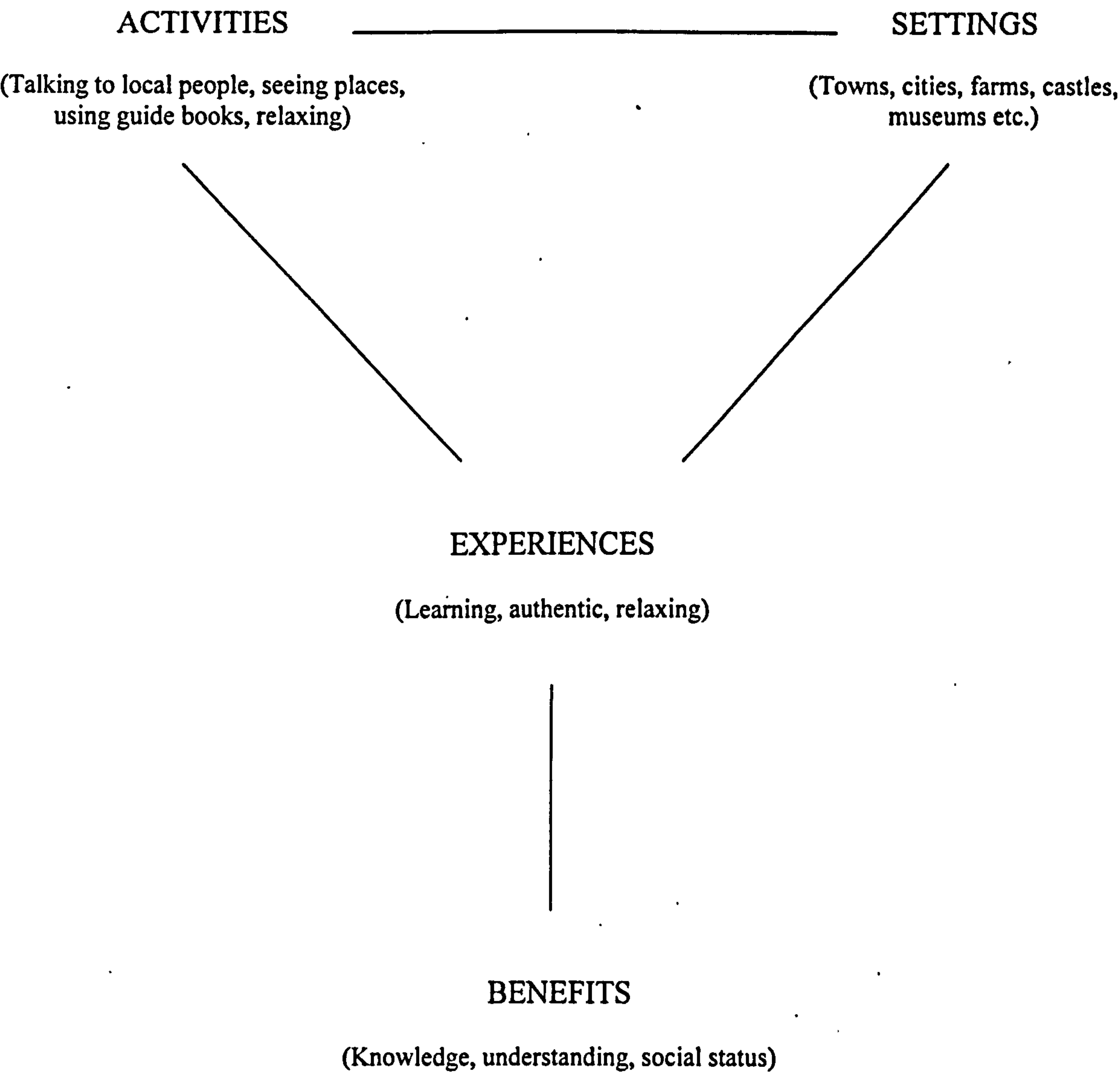


Figure 1.2.

There are two main problems with applying the hierarchical typology directly to the remembered experience of cultural holidays. Firstly, ‘activities’ can be defined at two different levels. An entire cultural holiday comprises an ‘activity’ but visiting individual places is also an ‘activity’, both take place in settings and produce experiences. Care must therefore be taken to define the level of activity that is being discussed. Secondly, the model fails to consider the effect of an individual’s personal context. This affects not only the activities that the individual chooses to participate in or the settings that are visited, but also the level of satisfaction that is derived from the experiences. In other words, although the hierarchical typology can produce a list of benefits derived from an individual’s description, it fails to offer an explanation as to why these are considered to be beneficial by that person.

Falk and Dierking (1992) suggest that a person’s museum visit is best understood using the “model of interactive experience” in which experiences are influenced by a combination of personal, social and physical contexts. Each visitor’s personal context is unique, as each has a different set of prior experiences, interests, motivations and concerns that combine to form a personal agenda. This will affect both expectations of the visit, the experience itself and how it is remembered. Falk and Dierking visualised this model as three overlapping circles. This is shown below.

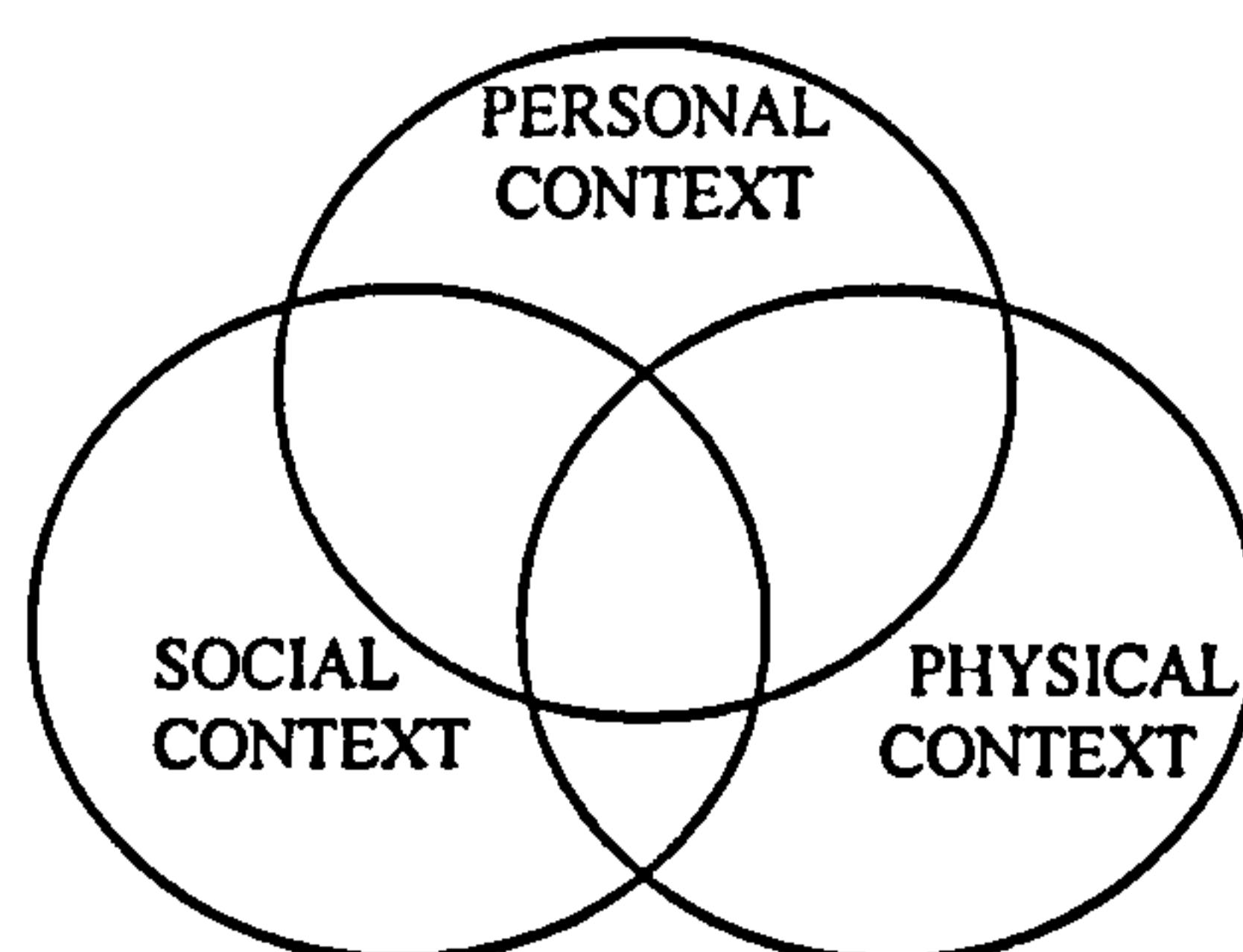


Figure 1.3

An individual's behaviour is influenced by the interaction with others in the social context, while the physical context includes architecture, the atmosphere, as well as the objects to which the individual responds. Each of these elements affects the focus of what is learnt and how the experience is constructed in the memory of the individual. As subsequent experiences over time cause the continual reconstruction of memory and re-evaluation of learnt information it might be suggested that Falk and Dierking's model could be represented as a three-dimensional diagram in which social, personal, and physical contexts have a past, present and future.

Potentially, the model of interactive experience is particularly useful in the study of remembered experience because it recognizes the personal context of experience, and sees a learning experience as an ongoing process. The emphasis on the social context is also important. It is the social context that affects the experience and the way in which memories may be reconstructed as they are shared or reinforced by other people through social discourse.

The laddering technique produces a hierarchy of motivations or values, moving from concrete to abstract concerns. Attributes of products or places are translated into 'meaningful associations with the respect to self' (Reynolds and Gutman 1988:12). In the context of a cultural holiday it might produce a chain similar to that outlined below.

Why are cultural attractions important to you?

(Attribute) they offer an opportunity to learn

(Consequence) I enjoy learning about the place that I am visiting

(Consequence) knowing more about a place makes
me feel more involved with it

(Value) by being involved with a place gives me a sense
of belonging to a European community

This style of model is useful as it goes beyond primary motivations to discover the deeper or personalized motives for participating in certain activities. However, it is difficult to put into operation as respondents often talk in logical circles. In the context of remembered cultural holidays laddering prompts the consideration of why benefits produced from cultural experiences, using the hierarchical model, are considered of importance to cultural tourists. In the context of Falk and Dierking's model of interactive experience, laddering can be seen as driving the personal context. In other words, laddering seeks to discover the ultimate motivation for participating in activities.

One of the higher goals that can be achieved through cultural tourism is understanding or insight into places and cultures, demand for such experiences being particularly valued among the affluent and educated middle classes (Prentice 1996a). This can be understood in terms of an insider-outsider dichotomy. Relph refers to the insider as 'native' and to the outsider as the 'visitor'. Relph identified six states of belonging within this typology, based on degree of involvement and respect for the significance of a place. These are, (i) existential outsideness, in which a person feels uninvolved with the place, all places

having the same meaningless identity and only superficial qualities being recognisable; (ii) objective outsidership, which involves a dispassionate attitude towards places, seeing them only in terms of their locations or as spaces where objects and activities are located; (iii) incidental outsidership, which describes a largely unselfconscious attitude in which places are a setting for activities and incidental to those activities; (iv) vicarious insidership, in which places are experienced 'second hand', and yet there is a sense of deep involvement felt; (v) behavioural insidership in which the atmosphere of a place is recognised, and there is a conscious appreciation of the landscape or townscape; and, (vi) empathetic insidership, in which places are known through social involvement and become expressions of the cultural values and experiences of those who create and live in them (Relph, 1976).

However, in Western societies, where social relations have been disembodied from the local context (Urry 1995), even residents may fail to achieve complete insidership. Due to this it has been argued that both locals and tourists may establish an imaginative bonding with a place by seeking the meaning of the area's heritage. Tourists of this type are referred to as 'insight-outsiders' by Prentice (1996b). Insight outsidership is defined as the unselfconscious experience of a place as a setting for the understanding of that place as a visitor. Prentice (1996b) also suggested a state that he termed 'assured outsidership' which means 'the unselfconscious experience of a place as a setting for reassurance, central to which is the unchanging nature of that place.' Where visitors return to a destination it is suggested that they do so due to a liking of, or affinity with, the place or its residents. Repeated visits allow the 'outsider' to increase his or her

knowledge of the place and sense of belonging. Importantly, endearment to place is not only formed by increasing familiarity with the landscape and built environment, but also through interaction with the host community (Prentice, Witt and Wydenbach 1994). Repeat visiting potentially leads to a more complex experience of place, and therefore memory of that experience, than one visit would allow. Consequently, when applying the interactive experience model to cultural tourism, it is necessary to enquire as to the context of past visits, and whether repeat visiting occurs. This point is addressed in chapter four, section 2.1.

Similarly, Urry (1995) uses the term 'aesthetic cosmopolitanism' to describe tourists who are curious about other places, are open to other cultures and are willing to risk moving outside of the tourist 'bubble'. Judgments of 'aesthetic cosmopolitans' remain primarily 'aesthetic' because they remain unaware of the meaning that local places symbolize to the native population. Cohen (1979) identifies a comparable situation within his typology of experience, which he refers to as an 'experiential mode'. In this case it is suggested that individuals who feel alienated from their own society use tourism to seek meaning in the life of others. However, in this quest for meaning the experience remains essentially aesthetic because the 'inside' meaning remains elusive.

Central to each of these types is the idea that modern Western society produces alienated individuals who, by gaining insight into other cultures or engaging with them, attempt to establish a sense of belonging. It is possible that while these tourists remain in a limbo, neither achieving insidedness in their own culture or others that they visit, they might

gain a sense of belonging to a wider community that shares some of the meanings and heritage. For example, while a Scottish cultural tourist might not feel a strong involvement with Scottish, German or French culture they might feel some identification with the vaguer concept of being part of a European culture. The purpose for learning about places is, therefore, a means of establishing a stronger sense of self, or European identity.

Alternatively, the participation in cultural activities and the quest for 'insight', 'authenticity' or even 'relaxing' and 'having a good time' can be seen as a means of establishing and retaining high social status. MacCannell (1976) suggests that a primary motivation of tourists seeking 'authentic' experiences is the presumption that authentic experiences are of higher moral value than inauthentic ones. Similarly, Spooner (1986) demonstrates how concepts of 'authenticity' are interwoven with a quest for 'security and order in an amorphous modern society' (p226), the obtaining of socially accepted 'authentic' objects, or participation in 'authentic' experiences being a reflection of one's social identity and social status. Meanwhile, Krippendorf (1987) suggests that in a society that is preoccupied with travelling to stay at home may result in a loss of social prestige and for a tourist 'to admit that the holiday was less than 'wonderful' is unthinkable, it would be tantamount to social failure' (p62). At the same time, however, the individual may participate in cultural tourism to obtain a sense of personal fulfilment without considering how his or her activities may affect his or her status.

It is proposed that to gain a fuller understanding of tourist's memories these models and typologies should be considered in conjunction. Therefore, it is proposed that remembered experience could be conceptualised as follows. An individual's personal context affects both their choice of and reaction to holiday experiences. The memory of cultural activities is also influenced by the social relationships and physical contexts in which they took place. Each of these factors may overlap, making it difficult to discuss them in isolation. This produces an experience that is remembered as being beneficial or not. Types of experience may overlap, making segmentation of tourist by experience problematic. The cultural tourist may be motivated to participate in certain cultural activities owing to higher goals that drive their personal agenda. The remembered experience may also be reconstructed over time due to personal and social influences. This may be seen in terms of benefits that are derived from participating in and remembering cultural experiences. In this manner memories may be processed and adapted to further concepts of self-identity and social status through reference to learning, authenticity, and relaxation. This deductive composite model is presented in figure 1.4 and discussed further in chapter two, section 4.2.

DEDUCTIVE COMPOSITE MODEL OF
REMEMBERED EXPERIENCE

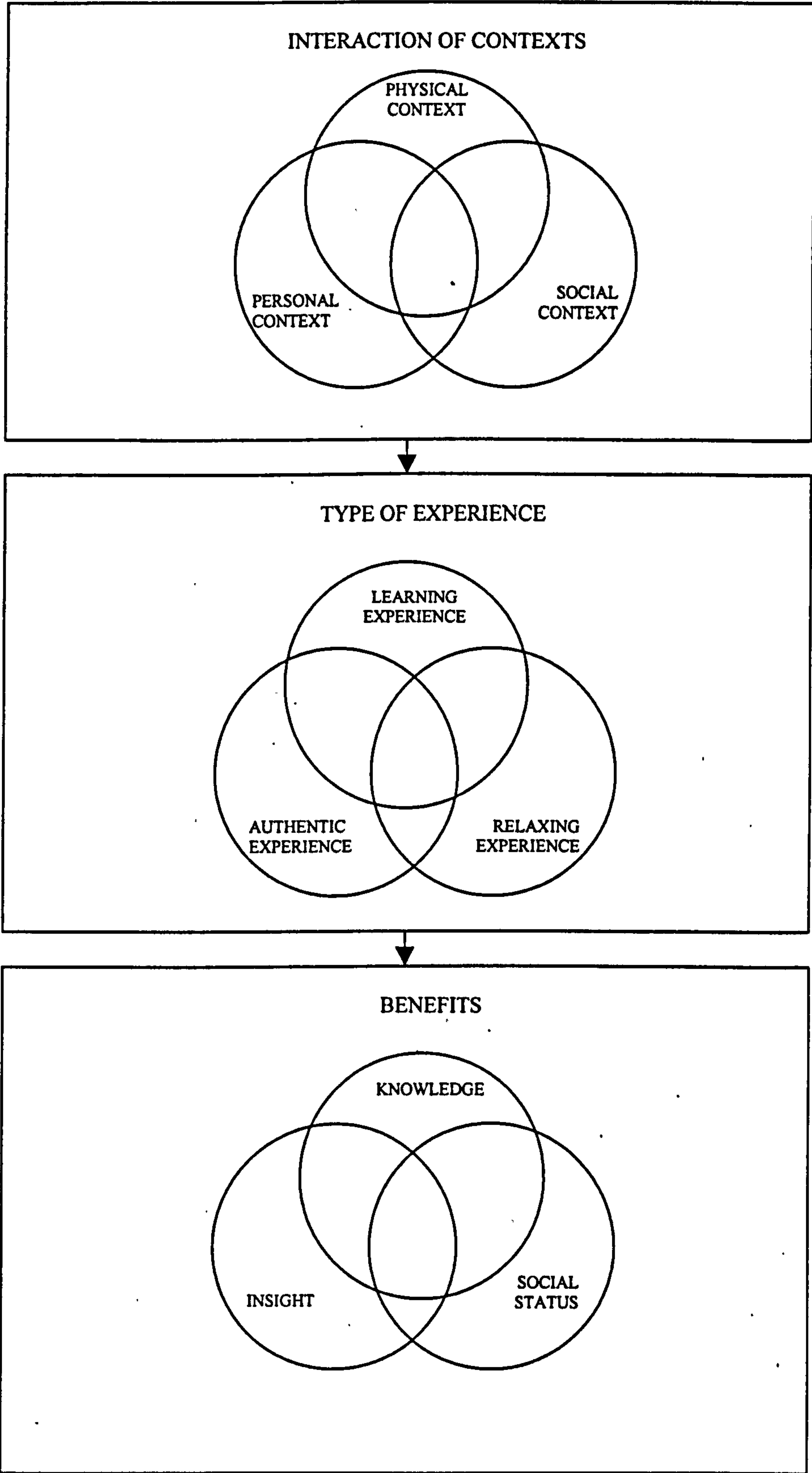


Figure 1.4

Methodology

2.1. Introduction

In order to investigate the memories recalled by tourists who had taken a European cultural holiday, two phases of interviews were conducted. The first phase took place between June 1997 and October 1997 and involved fifty interviews with married couples who had been to Europe within the last three years. By interviewing couples who had been on the same holiday, it was hoped that the similarities and differences between individuals would be revealed. It was initially presumed that this might be influenced by gender differences; however, these did not appear to be an important feature when the data were reviewed and consequently the thesis develops the concept of 'personal' contexts of recall, as opposed to the influences of gender. The second phase of interviewing took place from September 1998 to February 1999 and involved a further fifty interviews with individuals who had collected photographs and souvenirs during a European cultural holiday, within the last three years. This phase of the study aimed to investigate how tangible items prompt holiday memories, to determine whether such memories are constructed in a similar fashion to spontaneous memories and to ascertain the extent to which souvenirs and photographs are used as memory prompts. Models of remembered experience were developed to aid the understanding of these processes.

This chapter addresses a number of issues. Firstly, the reasons why in-depth interviews were considered an appropriate methodology for this study are discussed. Secondly, the chapter aims to demonstrate the rationale behind the design of specific questions and the influence this may have had on the data that were collected. Thirdly, it looks at the

sampling strategy that was employed, the rationale behind targeting middle-class tourists, and outlines reasons for non-response. Finally, the development of the deductive model of remembered experience is reviewed and the formation of inductive models of experience is explained.

2.2. Interview Design

2.2.1. Introduction

When designing a research project pragmatic choices must be made when deciding which methodologies to use. In particular they must suit the aims of the investigation and be feasible in their operation (Silverman 2000). To this end a number of methodologies were investigated and judged according to their suitability for this study. After consideration, it was decided that structured in-depth interviews would be most appropriate.

Quantitative methods are valuable because they provide the ability to measure the extent to which a style of behaviour occurs and their reliability can be tested statistically. Quantitative research continues to dominate tourism research, however it has recently been criticised because it does not provide insight into understanding and meaning (Payne-Daniel 1996; Thurot and Thurot 1983; Anderson and Littrell 1995; Riley and Lowe 2000). Categories of meaning tend to be predetermined by the researcher (Miles and Huberman 1994; Silverman 1993) and therefore the ability to understand individual experience is limited (Riley and Lowe 2000). For example, Pearce (1991) investigated the willingness with which people would share a variety of 'travel stories' with their friends and acquaintances, but this was based on ten hypothetical incidents provided by the researcher. Respondents were asked to rate each episode according to a scale of

whether they would tell it to 'every one', to 'a select few' or to 'no-one' (Pearce 1991:173). While this approach offered some insight into the nature of stories that are likely to be told it was 'divorced from every day life' (Fishwick and Vining 1992) in so far that it failed to consider the 'real' stories that people tell and the 'real' contexts in which they are told.

In contrast, a qualitative research project was undertaken to provide 'deep understanding' (Miles and Huberman 1994) or 'thick description' (Howe 1991) of respondent's real life experiences. Qualitative methodologies allow respondents to express their feelings, emotions and opinions, aspects of behaviour that are difficult to quantify. This was founded within an existential-phenomenological methodology. 'The basis of phenomenological research is the discovery of the structure of the phenomenon under study from the perspective of the person experiencing that phenomenon' (Masberg and Silverman 1996). Phenomenology explores meaning 'by examining individual values and mental constructs' (Wilson and Slack 1989: 119) and is therefore appropriate for investigating the meaning and symbolism of tourists' memories of their cultural holidays.

Although both sets of interviews used qualitative techniques it was decided at an early stage to divide the research questions between two interview schedules so that each interview would not exceed forty-five minutes. Interviews were restricted to this length, as prospective interviewees appeared unwilling to volunteer more of their time when they were contacted by telephone. A benefit of restricting interviews to this length was that interviewees did not suffer from interview fatigue, while it did provide sufficient time to establish rapport with the respondents (Robson 1993). Different respondents were used in

the two phases to avoid priming. (Potentially, respondents might have made a greater effort to remember details of their holidays if they had known that there would be a second interview.) A drawback of this approach was that comparisons between 'spontaneous' memories and those prompted by photographs and souvenirs could not be made on an individual basis; for example, how one person's story might be altered or elaborated when photographs were introduced. However, comparisons can be made on a more general level between the two groups of respondents.

The interview method provides a means of asking people directly about their behaviour and investigating situations that are difficult to observe, such as the operation of memory (Robson 1993). Interviewing respondents in their own homes provided minimal disruption for the respondents, as opposed to having to attend a focus group meeting (Morgan 1993). Interviewing in this context also allowed the researcher to observe the interviewee's behaviour in a natural context (Silverman 1993). During the interviews notes were made about observed behaviour, such as the manner in which respondents looked at their photographs during the interview or the place souvenirs were kept. These were used to inform the analysis and to complement the main research.

Face-to-face interviews were chosen in preference to postal questionnaires. The latter have been employed within tourism research to investigate a number of topics including: the motivation for telling stories based on holiday experiences (Pearce 1991); the impact of museum visits (McManus 1993); and the significance of authentic souvenirs (Littrell et al. 1993). However, the restrictions of this method include being unable to ask

respondents further questions spontaneously or to follow up on interesting points made or in other words to ask the 'why' question, for example 'why is that important to you?' (Prentice 1996(a); Reynolds and Gutman 1988). With postal questionnaires the researcher is also unable to observe respondent behaviour. Furthermore, it has been suggested that people are more willing to spend forty-five minutes talking to an interviewer than filling in a questionnaire (Riley 1996). This not only affects response rates, but also the depth of information that can be collected since more information can be recorded by taping a conversation than can be written down in the same length of time. Consequently, all interviews were recorded (with the permission of the respondents) and transcribed. Notes were made when transcribing some questions, but the main sections of the interviews were transcribed verbatim.

2.2.2. Phase One

Critical Incident Technique (referred to as C.I.T.) was used to frame the first phase of the study, which aimed to elicit respondents' spontaneous memories of their cultural holidays (see appendix iv). This was chosen in preference to using a structured interview schedule as it promised to encourage respondents to focus on specific incidents as opposed to narrating their holidays verbatim in diary fashion. While the later technique may have ascertained how much of the holiday could be recalled, it was hoped C.I.T. would make respondents focus upon those elements that were of particular importance to them, while by restricting the number of incidents recalled it would allow time for respondent's to expand upon the meaning and significance of the chosen memory.

Initially developed as a personnel tool, C.I.T. was developed by Flanagan in the 1940s for use by the United States Air Force, who used it for the selection and classification of aircrews and to investigate the specific causes of disorientation while flying (Flanagan 1954). Also within the sphere of personnel the technique has been used to investigate a wide variety of professions, including the critical requirements for dentists, bookkeepers in sales-companies and sales-clerks in department stores. However, since its original conception its utility in other spheres has been recognised and it has been used in a number of studies on health care (for example Grant et al 1993; Gabbott and Hogg 1993; 1994). C.I.T. has also been used in the tourist industry. Binter et al. (1990) applied the technique to customers' views of service and then investigated 'the other side of the story' (1994), considering the employee's viewpoint. Meanwhile, Jackson et al. (1996) investigated tourists' experiences by asking them to recount their most positive and most negative experiences.

Critical Incident Technique consists of a set of detailed procedures given by Flanagan which detail how to devise suitable questions, how to collect information and how to analysis it (1954). The essence of the technique is that it provides a structure for obtaining 'incidents' (such as an event or an example of specific behaviour) that 'either contribute or detract from the general aim of the specified activity' (for example, learning about cultural heritage) in a significant way (Binter et al. 1990). Thus, rather than gathering all examples or 'incidents' that can be remembered about a cultural holiday, C.I.T. focuses on just the aspects that make a distinct difference to the experience (either positive or negative). In the case of memories about cultural holidays it avoids

individuals giving a 'blow by blow' account and requires them to select experiences that made a considerable impression. Another feature of C.I.T. is that through the use of structured open-ended questions it is capable of providing 'accurate and consistent interpretations of people's accounts of events without depriving these accounts of their power of eloquence' (Viney 1983: 560).

In the current study, an initial phase of 'warm up' questions was employed (Robson 1993), after which respondents were asked to think about their most recent cultural holiday and then describe:

1. An incident that occurred that you remember added to your experience of a place that you visited.
2. An incident that occurred that you remember spoilt the experience of a place you visited.

Thirdly, respondents were asked:

'if you had to choose one thing from that holiday that most sticks in your mind, or that you remember most clearly, what would that be?'

In each case respondents were asked to explain the context in which the incident occurred, and to specify why the incident added or detracted from their experience. The third question was included to test whether C.I.T. was producing examples that respondents considered to be particularly memorable. It gave respondents an opportunity to provide an additional example, or memory, of the holiday, but also allowed them to select one of the previous examples as the 'most memorable' experience. In addition, respondents were asked a number of contextual questions about their visiting patterns, the

degree to which they participated in cultural tourism within Scotland, and their attitudes towards remembering and discussing cultural holidays.

Husbands and wives were interviewed consecutively to avoid priming. The first partner to be interviewed might have prompted the second to remember specific incidents if a gap between interviews had been allowed. Husbands and wives were asked to talk about the same holiday to allow more direct comparison between holiday memories.

C.I.T. was successful in providing interviews that focused on respondents' most memorable experiences. The accounts that were provided were typically between two hundred and four hundred words long and were quite detailed in their description (see appendix vi). Although the initial 'warm up' questions prepared respondents for thinking about their last cultural holiday, it was made clear that they had time to think of a specific incident prior to answering. The majority of respondents showed evidence of doing this, pausing for up to two minutes before replying. This may suggest that several incidents, or the holiday as a whole, were being reviewed and a selection was being made from these. In some cases, however, the respondent appeared to select whatever memory 'came to mind' first. Subsequent incidents were then recalled, typically introduced by a phrase such as *'now that I think about it...'* (A15; M42) or *'another thing...'* (A3; F49). This suggests that recalling a single incident acts as a 'memory hook' (Neisser 1982) that triggers a flow of consciousness from which other incidents may be recalled. Only rarely, (in four cases out of one hundred) did respondents indicate that they found this approach difficult. As one woman said, *'it would be easier if I just told you what we did on holiday'* (A4; F60). She proceeded to do so, after which she was asked the third question, followed by

the second. Having spent longer talking through the holiday as a whole she was ready to make a selection and did so.

The aim in these interviews was to provide an understanding of cultural holidays as memories, made tangible through social discourse. With regards to the analysis of C.I.T. Flanagan writes, 'the purpose of the data analysis stage is to summarize and describe the data in an efficient manner so that it can be effectively used... There are countless ways in which a given set of incidents can be classified... the principle consideration should usually be the uses to be made of the data' (1954: 344). When reviewing the interview transcripts it was realised that continuing with Fanagan's C.I.T. would lead to a large amount of useful data being disregarded. This included cases where the incident was not 'critical' in itself, but instead was important because it formed part of a recurrent experience. For example, one respondent explained *'again we took a lovely trip along the river and that really brought mediaeval Bruges to life. It always seems to be canal trips that bring the place to life... (and later she said) Another of the major things that strikes me is just the way that people in those countries can speak and use our language [pause] and I always come home and quote situations. We met a Dutch taxi-driver, who was able to talk about the economics of his country in our language, or you go into a corner-shop for a box of tissues and they say, "which colour do you want?" Everybody has such a command of English'* (A3; F49 see appendix vi). Similarly, not all interviewees were able to report a negative incident and resorted to statements about holidays in general. Norman et al. (1992) discovered this style of narrative when investigating nursing care and

referred to them as 'critical happenings'. These 'always have a positive or negative value for the respondent' (Norman et al. 1992: 597).

In addition, progressing with the technique would have lead to some of the contextual questions being discarded, as well as a number of accounts where respondents had not clearly specified why the incident was 'critical'. These accounts did, however, provide useful evidence of how memories had been constructed or retrieved. As the primary aim of the study was to understand the tourist's memories of their cultural holidays, rather than to devise a list of 'critical requirements for a good holiday' it was decided, after an initial test of classifying data in this manner, that this style of analysis did not address the research question. To incorporate the non-critical elements, categories were formed using content analysis (of which C.I.T analysis is a form). The analysis of the incidents did follow Flanagan's recommendation that categories should be submitted for others to review (1954: 344). Once tentative categories were established two other researchers reviewed them and categories were adjusted where necessary. Levels of inter-judge agreement were not recorded. Categories were also formed on the basis of 'general behaviours' (Flanagan 1954: 345). In other words, large general categories were formed, which were then divided into smaller, more specific sub-groups.

When reporting the results of the findings the researcher interpreted the data in accordance with the models of remembered experience (as described in chapter one, section 8 and this chapter, section 4.2). For example in chapter three, section 2.4 the manner in which respondents tried to find a personal point of reference was considered

more important than separating 'positive' and 'negative' incidents and examples of both are given to illustrate the point. Similarly, in chapter three, section 4.3 uses both 'positive' and 'negative' incidents to illustrate attitudes towards cultural tolerance and appreciation. This is the aim throughout the thesis. However, as the interviews were based on C.I.T. it affects the type of narratives recounted and, consequently, it has influenced the structure of the thesis to some extent. For example, while chapter three focuses on predominantly 'positive' holiday memories, section 3.4 deals with the 'hindrances to the learning process', which are 'negative' accounts. In the same manner signs of 'authenticity', in chapter four, are described in 'positive' terms, while signs of the inauthentic and non-authentic draw more frequently on 'negative' accounts. This pattern is also present in chapter five.

2.2.3. Phase Two

The second phase of interviewing aimed to investigate how past tourists represent their memories through photographs and souvenirs and to further understand tourism as memories by examining the meaning and symbolism of souvenir items. It was decided to use structured interview schedules with open-ended questions, which it was hoped would encourage respondents to give a detailed description of the significance of their souvenirs. By asking each respondent to focus on a limited number of souvenirs it was hoped that they would elaborate upon the meaning, rather than discuss their souvenirs in general terms (although the context in which souvenirs were purchased was also ascertained). In this regard the approach would be compatible with that used in phase one.

There are a number of ways in which souvenirs may be defined (see chapter one, section 6; Belk 1988; Gordon 1986; Stewart 1984). However, while souvenirs are often viewed as memory prompts (Belk 1988; Harris 1982) the word may also conjure images of 'tourist tat' (see chapter six, section 3.1). For this reason respondents were initially asked what they associated with the word 'souvenir'. This allowed the researcher to clarify the meaning of 'souvenir' in the interview context. Respondents were then asked what type of *things* or 'souvenirs', if any, were brought back from their last holiday (see appendix v).

As discussed in chapter one, different souvenirs have different life spans (see chapter one, section 6) and it was presumed that people would find it easier to discuss the meaning of durable souvenirs than items such as food-stuffs, which had been consumed upon return from the holiday, or other items with a short life-span. Interviews confirmed this, the one exception being a bunch of flowers, the life span of which had been preserved through a photograph (see chapter six, section 4.3).

The wording of the main questions was based on the work of Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981) and a subsequent article by Littrell et al. (1990). In the first article respondents were asked to elaborate on the meaning of 'special' household articles (Csikszentmihalyi Mihaly and Rochberg-Halton 1981), in the second article respondent's focused on 'special' souvenirs (Littrell et al 1990). Csikszentmihalyi Mihaly and Rochberg-Halton explain the use of the word special, as follows:

By using the word 'special' we mean that the object has some meaning, value, memories, importance or feelings 'attached' to it for the person. We are interested in how the object functions symbolically for the person... The word 'special' leaves it up to the person to define the significance of the object (1981: 254 cited Littrell et al 1990: 230).

Items may have both a use value and a symbolic value and a sense of self may be expressed through the symbolic consumption of certain items (Belk 1988; 1989). For example, cherished household objects, such as trophies, may be significant to their owner because they express differentiation from others by emphasising skills and experiences that are specific to the owner. Other items such as family photograph albums integrate the individual with others by recalling events or people associated with that object (Belk 1988; Csikszentmihalyi Mihaly and Rochberg-Halton 1981). Similarly, Littrell et al. demonstrated that souvenirs may symbolise the discovery of authentic experiences, but which items are chosen to convey this, and how, may depend on the tourist and their preferences (1990). The use of the word 'special' was therefore deemed appropriate to investigate the meaning and symbolism of tourists' cultural souvenirs. With this rationale respondents were asked:

Thinking about the souvenir(s) (other than photographs) you bought or collected on your last holiday:

- a. Was there one that you thought was particularly 'special'?
- b. What was this? What was 'special' about the souvenir that you found?
- c. Why does it mean so much to you?
- d. What does it remind you of?

Questions c and d were used as prompts. Often a full answer was given in reply to question b.

It was initially anticipated that Repertory Grid Technique would offer a means of uncovering the meaning of holiday photographs taken by cultural tourists. Repertory Grid Technique has been used, within tourism, to investigate subjects such as Appraisive images (Walmsey and Jenkins 1993), evaluative images (Walmsey and Young 1998) and tourist experience (Botterill and Crompton 1996). It is a technique derived from clinical psychology, which seeks to reveal the individual's view of the world without imposing unnecessary constraints on the way they communicate their views (Fransella and Bannister 1977). The technique is based on the work of Kelly (1955) and in the social sciences the elements under study (for example travel destinations or self-as-tourist) are presented in groups of three (referred to as triads) to respondents (subjects) who are asked to say which element is different from the other two and why (Francella and Bannister 1977). The differences that are given are called 'constructs' and are typically represented as bi-polar scales, for example city / countryside tourist / host (Botterill and Crompton 1996). Botterill and Crompton's investigation of tourist experience used holiday photographs as 'elements', and the technique appeared to be successful in showing how holiday experiences can change individual perceptions. However, the technique was rejected because it did not seem particularly advantageous to reduce tourist's memories to a series of single word bi-polar scales. While allowing respondents to construct their own meanings in a collaborative manner (Botterill and Crompton 1996) the analysis stripped the articulated memories of their fluency by reducing responses to points on a grid.

Having rejected Repertory Grid Technique it was decided to use open-ended questions, in a format that would be compatible with the investigation of souvenirs. To prevent respondents from giving a superficial account of their holiday 'blow by blow' or 'photograph by photograph,' respondents were asked to select and discuss only three or four photographs 'that you particularly like'. Respondents were asked to explain what features of the photograph they liked and what the photograph reminded him or her of (see appendix v). The selection of a limited number of photographs also made this comparable to the first phase of interviewing, in which respondents focused on specific incidents. Again, respondents were able to determine their own meanings, but were required to go beyond a superficial description of the image.

In the first phase of interviewing a balanced gender sample was obtained by interviewing married couples. In the second phase seventeen males and thirty-three females were interviewed. This unbalanced ratio was due to two main reasons. Firstly, the first phase of interviewing had indicated that holiday memories were not likely to be strongly influenced by gender, but rather by personal contexts. Therefore, it was not thought necessary to obtain a rigidly balanced sample in the second phase. Secondly, women are more likely to purchase or collect souvenir items (Anderson and Littrell 1995), which accounts for why women were more likely to fit the interview criteria and to agree to an interview. However, this suggests that gender does play a part in the prompted memory of cultural holidays, particularly as spouses may not be aware of the reason why their partners bought certain souvenirs, so that the item may not inspire the same meanings or memories (see chapter six; section 2).

2.3 The sampling process

2.3.1 Sampling strategy

The study was conducted in two 'middle-class' wards of Edinburgh. The two middle-class wards were chosen using the small area statistics of the 1991 Census of Scotland to rank the fifty-eight wards of Edinburgh in terms of a composite index of social deviation and advantage. Eight variables were used to produce a correlation matrix. These were: levels of unemployment, numbers of cars owned per household, social class, house ownership and level of education obtained; part-time male workers; part-time female workers; and percentage of retired population. The first five of these variables were known to be un-skewed from a previous doctoral study by Andrea Davies (1999), which used the same criteria. SPSS was used to produce a 1-tailed correlation matrix from these factors. The strongest correlations produced were between:

1. education and class @ .95933
2. house ownership and class @ .76362
3. house ownership and car ownership @ .69229.

There was also a strong negative correlation between unemployment and house ownership.

4. unemployment and house ownership @ . 89500

Principle components analysis was then used to extract a common component, based on their Eigen values.

Variable	Factor	Eigen value	% of variance	Cumulative %
Car ownership	1	4.04541	50.6	50.6
Class	2	1.65178	20.6	71.2
Education	3	1.29057	16.1	87.3

As car ownership had the highest Eigen value this component was used as a proxy and the fifty-eight wards of Edinburgh were ranked by it. The Ward representing the upper-octile (South Morningside) and the upper-middle quartile position (Merchiston) on this index were selected.

Once South Morningside and Merchiston were established as the sampling areas, the latest register of electors was used as a sampling frame and systematic sampling was used to select an appropriate number of names and addresses from each ward. The 1997 register of electors was replaced by the 1998 register for the 1998 survey to ensure that the sampling frame remained up to date, and consequently as accurate as possible (Smith 1975). Systematic sampling was chosen as an appropriate technique that would allow a random, non-biased sample to be produced (Riley 1990; Smith 1975). Having calculated the sampling fraction and chosen a random starting point, every n th name was selected. These names were cross-referenced with the telephone directory to ensure that respondents could be contacted by telephone. Where respondents refused to participate or could not be contacted (see this chapter, section 1.3) the next name on the list was chosen and the process repeated until a full complement of interviews had been achieved.

Letters were sent to each household selected to inform the occupiers about the intended study and to request their participation (see appendix I and II). In the first phase of the study, four hundred and fifty-nine letters were sent from early June 1997 through to the end of October 1997 and fifty couples were interviewed (a response rate of 10.9%) It had been initially envisaged that this phase of data gathering would be completed within three months. However, it took longer due to a lower than expected response rate. Data collection took a similar length of time in the second phase, three hundred and fifty-five letters being sent between mid September and the end of January 1999, from which fifty individuals were interviewed (a response rate of 14.1%). A breakdown of the reasons given for non-participation is given in this chapter, section 3.4 below.

The letters were followed up with a telephone call to establish whether or not the occupiers fulfilled the required criteria and were willing to take part. (A sample telephone script is shown in appendix III.) A limited number of filter questions were used to ascertain whether this was the case. In the first phase of the study potential interviewees were asked whether they had been on a European cultural holiday within the last three years, whether this had been with their partner and whether they were willing to take part in the study. Reasons for non-response are discussed below in this chapter, section 1.3. Using the definition of cultural tourism outlined in chapter one, section 2.5, it was explained that a 'cultural holiday' referred to holidays where at least fifty percent of the activities had been culturally orientated. This allowed for the inclusion of holidays that were split between beaches or walking and visiting attractions, but excluded holidays that

were predominantly beach holidays with brief excursions (Richards 1996). In the second phase of interviewing an additional question, enquiring whether the person collected souvenirs or photographs during their cultural holiday, was added.

If the potential respondents met the criteria and were willing to be interviewed an interview was arranged. These took place in the individual's own home, at a time that was convenient to the interviewee. This was designed to minimise the inconvenience for the respondent (and therefore increased the potential response rate), while in the second phase of data gathering it had the added benefit of allowing the researcher to see the context in which souvenirs and photographs were displayed.

At all times the confidentiality of the respondents was assured and for this reason the names of the participants are not mentioned in the following chapters. Where names were mentioned during an interview they were replaced by a pseudonym in the transcription. Each person was then given a code number for the purpose of identification. In the first phase of interviewing, respondents from Morningside were given the code letter 'A', those from Merchiston were coded as 'B' and then numbered following the order in which they were interviewed. Reference was also made to the gender of the informant and their age. The same system was used in the second phase of interviewing, respondents from Morningside being coded as 'C' and those from Merchiston as 'D', to distinguish them from the first group. A typical reference, as used in the following chapters, is B22; M39. This is, therefore, a male aged thirty-nine, from Merchiston, the twenty-second respondent interviewed during the first phase.

Before interviews were recorded the permission of the respondent was sought. No respondents refused to be recorded. Some respondents were initially self-conscious, but soon relaxed and forgot the presence of the tape-recorder.

2.3.2 The Sample Groups

The study was conducted in Edinburgh. This was primarily for logistic reasons as the researcher was based in this area. However, as the capital of Scotland, Edinburgh is a cosmopolitan city, which is itself a popular base for cultural tourism with both domestic and international markets.

Middle-class households were targeted for two main reasons. Firstly, literature suggests that middle-class households are the primary consumers of cultural tourism because they have a higher level of cultural capital, which in turn provides a greater understanding and appreciation of cultural assets (see chapter one, section 3; Richards 1996; Economic and Social Committee 1990; Crompton 1993; Argyle 1994). This segment of the population is also more likely to have the income and mobility required to experience European cultural tourism (Prentice 1994; 1996; Argyle 1994). This issue is discussed in greater detail below. Secondly, by constraining the social class, the numerically small samples were more likely to be comparable. However, owing to this constraint, no generalisation can be made in relation to other social groups.

Class is often defined in the social sciences by occupation (Argyle 1994). The most commonly used hierarchy is:

1. Professional (e.g. employers and managers of large establishments)
2. Intermediate (e.g. school teachers, nurses, employers and managers of small establishments)
3. (N) Skilled non-manual (e.g. clerical, sales, cashiers)
4. (M) Skilled manual (e.g. miners, police, cooks, supervisors, car workers)
5. Semi-skilled (e.g. agriculture, postmen, barmen)
6. Unskilled (e.g. labourers, office cleaners)

In other reference systems, groups one and two may be referred to as AB; three as C1; four as C2; five and six as DE. The term 'middle-class' tends to refer to the AB group, although the variation within the middle-class (for example between upper-middle and lower-middle) means that some may be employed in the C1 group.

Classification of population by occupational-class.

	Edinburgh	South Morningside	Merchiston
Class I (professionals)	11.5	21.6	21.7
Class II (managerial and technical)	33.9	52.1	46.9
Class IIIN (skilled non-manual)	17.9	14.7	17.4
Class IIIM (skilled manual)	19.6	7.4	5.8
Class IV (partly skilled)	10.2	1.1	6.8
Class V (Unskilled)	4.9	1.1	0.5
Others (armed forces, occupation not stated)	2.0	2.1	1.0

Source: Small area statistics of the 1991 Census of Scotland

The table above shows the percentage of population employed in six categories of occupation-based class. This shows that 73.7% of South Morningside's population and 68.6% of Merchiston's population are classified as class I and II, in other words they are middle-class. In Edinburgh's as a whole, 45.4% of the population are employed in class I or II. South Morningside and Merchiston are therefore strongly middle-class wards. 88.4% of South Morningside's population and 85.0% of Merchiston's population fall with classes I, II and IIIN. In the current study all respondents who worked were employed in classes I and II. Those who had retired, or were currently 'house-wives', had also worked within these sectors or had spouses who did.

However, the term 'middle-class' extends beyond occupation and associated wealth to included cultural tendencies and values. Bourdieu differentiates between cultural capital and economic capital (1979; 1987), while also recognising the fluidity of class boundaries. Economic capital refers to wealth, while cultural capital is largely acquired through education and describes the intangible 'knowing' which, amongst other things, can both secure and perpetuate access to economic capital. Individuals may have high cultural capital and lower economic capital, or vice versa, which results in different tastes. For example, Wynne (1990) distinguished 'drinkers' (who participated in regular convivial drinking, family holidays taken as hotel packages and preferred large spectacle as entertainment) who had high economic capital but lower cultural capital, from the more 'cultural' 'sporters' who were more interested in style than comfort, preferred to holiday in a gite or to make personal arrangements and enjoyed classical musical concerts. Both groups may be classified as 'middle-class' but will have different tastes

and will pursue different activities. Similarly, Savage et al (1992) developed three groups. The first group were those people interested in 'high-culture', enjoying plays, classical music and contemporary dance. The second had a preference for cleaned up version of 'heritage' or 'country-side' tradition. The third were referred to as 'post-moderns' who enjoyed doing both. The respondents in the current study tended to show a relatively high level of cultural capital and showed a preference for cultural holidays. They also possessed the economic capital to allow them to travel abroad. However, there was considerable variation within this with some choosing camping holidays, while others insisted on three star hotels, some recognising and disdaining inauthentic productions, while others enjoyed them.

Veblen (1934) in the 'Theory of the Leisure Class' suggested that individuals engage in conspicuous consumption in order to show their social status. More recently, Goffman (1978) and Belk (1988; 1989) have suggested that through symbolic consumption individuals present certain images of themselves, which are selected in preference to others. Thus, middle-class individuals may choose to take European cultural holidays as a means of showing others that they are cultured individuals who have the means to travel. Alternatively individuals who have been socialised in a certain manner may be more likely to enjoy certain activities and therefore pursue them.

With regards to leisure activities, research has shown that in contrast with the working-class, middle-class people will watch less TV and will buy more books of all kinds. Members of the middle-classes go on more holidays (often two or three a year) and are

more likely to travel abroad (Argyle 1994) because they can afford to do so. They are also more likely to visit stately homes and to take trips to beauty spots in the countryside, partly because of greater access to cars, but also because it is part of middle-class culture (ibid). Thus economic and cultural capital can be seen to overlap. Much 'cultural capital' is developed during childhood and middle-class children are more likely to have a variety of interests roused during the course of education, but importantly the occupations that they later pursue give them the economic capital to spend on their leisure interests. Similarly, middle class homes are more likely to be designed for entertainment and for self-expression (ibid.). Being aware that friends may view the interior of their homes, individuals may be concerned with portraying a favourable image of themselves through their home environment and the collection of souvenirs may form part of the image portrayed (see chapter six, sections 4.2 and 5).

Richards (1996) suggests that participation in cultural tourism is also influenced by age (see chapter one, section 3). A study of European tourists' motivations for visiting found that tourists over the age of forty-five were the group most likely to be interested in 'museums, historical buildings and cities', with thirty-nine percent expressing interest. Of those aged between forty-five and thirty, thirty-three percent expressed interest in cultural tourism. This group was in turn more likely to be interested in cultural tourism than the under thirties, of whom only twenty-nine percent agreed that 'museums, historical buildings and cities' were a motivation for visiting. Based on these ranges, the ages of the respondent in the current study are shown below.

Ages of Respondents in phase one of interviews

29 and under	30-45	46-60	61-75	76 and over
1%	47%	32%	17%	3%

Ages of Respondents in phase two of interviews

29 and under	30-45	46-60	61-75	76 and over
12%	30%	34%	22%	2%

The ages of the respondents in both phases of the study roughly correlate with Richards' findings, with fifty-two percent of respondents in the first phase and fifty-eight percent of respondents in the second phase being over forty-five years of age. However, tables show those between the ages of thirty and forty-five also represent a significant proportion of the sample population, while older persons (especially those over seventy-five) may be prevented from participating in cultural tourism owing to frailty and ill health (see reasons for refusals, this chapter, section 3.3 below). While children may restrict some couples from taking European cultural holidays (see this chapter, section 3.3 below), for others the opportunity to educate their children further may provide a motivation for travel (see chapter three). This combined with the fact that some couples did not have children, or were able to leave very young children in the care of a family member for a long weekend, may explain the apparently high number of thirty to forty-five year olds participating in cultural tourism. It should also be noted that Richards' age boundaries are somewhat skewed, as the age band forty-five plus is considerably larger than the thirty to

forty-five band, hence the larger percentage of over forty-fives in comparison to younger persons and the current division into smaller segments.

As a 'middle-class' woman, the researcher found it relatively easy to identify herself with the respondents and to develop rapport during the interviews. Meanwhile, the majority of respondents showed an appreciation of education and interest in the current research. They tended to respond sympathetically to the researcher as 'young student' (in relation to their own ages) and were not intimidated by the interview process. These factors encouraged the respondents to respond in a full and detailed manner.

2.3.3 Refusals and non-response

Of the four hundred and fifty-nine letters sent out to couples in the first phase of research, three hundred and forty-seven couples gave reasons for not participating. The researcher was unable to contact sixty-two potential interviewees by telephone within three weeks of sending the introductory letter. In a number of cases this was due to the number not being recognised. Commonly, individuals were phoned in the evenings, between six o'clock and eight-thirty. While, this ensured that most office workers were at home, it may have excluded shift and evening workers from the study. However, attempting follow-up calls at a different time reduced the possibility of this. Some people may not have been in residence at the time of the study, either holidaying or working abroad. This argument is supported by the fact that, of the nine 'other' reasons people gave for not responding, six said that the homeowner was abroad and three said that the Edinburgh residence was their holiday home.

As can be seen in the table below, only twenty-nine people refused to participate because they were not willing to be interviewed. This was expressed as being 'too busy to find the time' or that they were 'not interested'. Although it is known that some of these individuals did fit the criteria outlined in this chapter, section 1.3 above, it cannot be presumed that all of them did, as these responses were often used to avoid any further questioning by the researcher.

Smith (1975) stresses the importance of having a comprehensive and up to date sampling frame to avoid inaccurate sampling. In the current study inaccurate sampling only accounted for thirty-eight non-responses. In fifteen cases the addressee had moved since the electoral role had been compiled. Often the new resident was single and therefore they were excluded from the study. In other cases individuals showed their annoyance at being confused with previous occupants by hanging up the phone. In nine cases, the addressee or their spouse had died since the census had been compiled. In a further fourteen cases, single parents living with an adult child of the opposite sex had been contacted instead of a married couple, as presumed. They therefore did not meet the criteria for this phase of the study. However, these mistakes were unavoidable given the nature of the sampling frame that was used.

By the far the largest reason for non-participation was that individuals did not meet the criteria set for the study. In addition to the reasons given above, one hundred and seventy individuals declined to participate because they had not been to Europe in the last three years. Of these, twelve no longer travelled because they said they were 'too old' (see this

chapter, section 3.2. above). The other responses were divided between those who chose to holiday in Britain and those who ventured further a-field, perhaps owing to differing levels of economic capital. A further ninety-five individuals said that although they had visited Europe they did not go on cultural holidays. This group was divided between those who took cruises, visited friends and family, enjoyed activity holidays or were orientated towards family and the beach. Within these two categories, nineteen couples said that they would or used to take cultural holidays in Europe, but were now prevented from doing so because they had young children (involving added expense and the fear that the children would be bored by cultural activities). In addition to this, six respondents fulfilled all criteria except that they did not holiday with their spouse.

A summary tally is given below.

Reason for refusal	Frequency
Not contacted within three weeks	62
Not willing to be interviewed	29
Inaccurate sampling (not couples)	38
Not been to Europe in the last three years	170
Do not go on cultural holidays	95
Do not holiday with spouse	6
Other	9

Similar patterns were present in the second phase of sampling, the frequency of refusals being recorded below. Of the three hundred and fifty-five letters sent out, fifty-six were not contacted within three weeks and two hundred and forty-nine individuals gave reasons for non-participation. The slightly higher frequency of individuals refusing to be interviewed because they were 'too busy' may have been due to the season in which data were gathered, people being slightly less willing to be interviewed in the run up to

Christmas. In this phase, collecting neither souvenirs nor photographs led to nine respondents being discounted. This was equivalent to spouses not holidaying together.

Reason for refusal	Frequency
Not contacted within three weeks	56
Not willing to be interviewed	38
Inaccurate sampling (addressee not known)	6
Not been to Europe in the last three years	114
Do not go on cultural holidays	69
Do not collect souvenirs or photographs	9
Other	3

2.4. Process of Analysis

2.4.1. Method of analysis

The analysis of the first phase of interviewing has been mentioned in this chapter, section 2.2 above. This section looks at how the process of analysing both data sets, in particular how categories were formed, revised and interpreted.

All the interviews were transcribed as they were collected so that the words of the respondents would remain 'fresh' in the mind of the researcher (Riley 1996). Where recordings were less clear this had the advantage of the researcher being able to recall what was said. Poor quality of recording was rare, however, and therefore a high degree of confidence may be placed in the accuracy of the transcriptions (ibid.). It also had the advantage of being able to recall the context of the interview with clarity and therefore to incorporate notes about the tone of voice and manner in which things were said, all of which has the potential to effect the interpretation of *what* was said (Miles and Huberman

1994). The researcher was personally responsible for all the transcriptions. This allowed the interview to be revisited and provided the first step of getting close to the data (Riley 1996). Throughout this process, the data were reviewed in the light of the research questions and with consideration to issues that arose from the literature (Silverman 2000). Once the data were transcribed and annotated with the researcher's initial responses, the transcripts were read and re-read, over a period of several weeks to ensure that the researcher was 'close' to the data (Silverman 1993). Additional notes were added at this stage.

The next phase involved looking at the data as a whole to find the commonalities between the interviews (Riley 1996). To this end, a form of content analysis was used and categories of data were formed. Full answers to a question were usually broken into two or three units of meaning and in each case the main meaning of a unit or phrase was sought (Miles and Huberman 1994). Having been formed, the categories and their definitions were submitted to two other researchers. The categories were checked for consistency, discussed and revised as necessary.

At this stage, a limited amount of information was thrown out. This included two types of data. Firstly, descriptions of holidays outside of Europe, or of other experiences that were not related back to the holiday in question were rejected as being outside the boundaries of the current research (Robson 1993; Miles and Huberman 1994). Secondly, categories where there were fewer than five mentions of that type were discarded, revised to form larger groupings, or were incorporated into other categories. When writing up the results the categories were used as a basis for the overall structure. Sub-groups or sub-categories

within the main categories were then identified (Riley 1996) and discussed. Therefore, as recommended by Flanagan (1954: 345) categories were based on 'general behaviours' in which more specific sub-groups were then identified.

In addition to content analysis, the data chapters that follow utilise discourse analysis to provide a more in-depth understanding of how holidays are recalled. This approach considers how the 'narrative' conveys meaning (Holstein and Gubrium 1995) and looks at respondents' answers as being 'cultural stories' (Silverman 2000). The researcher has therefore considered not only what has been said, but also the way in which it was said and the meaning conveyed. Through the text analysis takes the form of considering the use of particular words, in preference to others that may have been used, and the way in which stories are constructed. In addition to this the use of recorded and transcribed interviews allowed the researcher to note where things had been said in irony, with humour and so on.

A realist approach was followed, in so far as the truth of the respondents' accounts was not questioned, unless there were inconsistencies in the data that suggested that it should be (Atkinson and Silverman 1997). However, in addition to this, the researcher considered how the narrative revealed which issues were of particular relevance to the respondents and how the way they told their stories shed light on how the memory operates. By using examples taken from the interviews the personal nature of holiday experiences can be revealed. This both compliments the general points made and demonstrates the manner in which past cultural tourists narrate holiday memories.

Throughout the text, numbers derived from the process of content analysis have been given to indicate the extent to which a theme was repeated, or similar behaviours were reported. It should be borne in mind that these counts are taken from answers to open-ended questions, rather than direct questions about specific behaviour. For example, respondents were asked to give an 'incident that was particularly memorable' (see this chapter, section 2.2 above) or why their souvenir was 'special' (see this chapter, section 2.3 above) rather than, whether they considered that learning on holiday was important, or whether they made a specific effort to collect 'authentic souvenirs' and what this may have meant to them. The categories were therefore developed from the stories that were told and the meanings present in them. While this approach does not pretend to offer a comprehensive catalogue of the behaviour of past tourists, it was presumed that respondents recalled what was considered most important to them and significant for this reason.

2.4.2 Models of Remembered Experience

Both phases of investigation were constructed with the aim of developing a methodology to understand tourism as memories. To this end a number of models of experience were reviewed (see chapter one, section 1.8) and a 'deductive model of remembered experience' was suggested (see figure 1.4). This encouraged the researcher to appraise the data from a particular perspective and therefore, with the risk of repetition, this section shows how the model was devised and how the data were related to this framework.

The 'model of interactive experience' developed by Faulk and Dierking (1992), which provides an understanding of the context in which museum visits takes place, provided a basis for a 'deductive composite model of remembered experience' as it gave a 'common sense' approach towards remembered experience. In this model social, personal and physical contexts overlap to form an experience, the interpretation of which may change over time. The three contexts are pictured as three overlapping circles (see figures 1.3 and 1.4). It was hypothesized that this could be applied to the wider context of cultural tourism. Consequently, the model broadens the concept of 'physical context' from 'museums' to any cultural attraction visited and remembered by a past cultural tourist. This may include museums and galleries, but also encompasses the idea of a street, town, or landscape as an attraction. Although, the motivation for visiting and the experience itself cannot be ignored in the formation of the remembered experience, the thesis focuses on the memory of cultural holidays and therefore greater emphasis is placed on how visiting experiences are reconstructed after the visit.

Topological models such as those developed by Cohen (1979) and Smith (1978) informed the 'deductive composite model of remembered experience' and structure of the thesis insofar as they suggested that tourists can be segmented on the basis of the type of experience that they seek from an attraction. In accordance with this view, the chapters focus on three dominant features of recalled experience, these being learning experiences, a quest for authenticity, and a desire for relaxation. However, it was also noted that a drawback of these models is the presumption that tourists seek a single or dominant style of experience from an attraction (see chapter, one section 1.8), rather than a number of

different types of experience from a single attraction, or throughout a holiday. It was postulated by the researcher that different styles of experience might overlap. This is envisaged diagrammatically in the form of three overlapping circles, each of which represents an aspect of remembered holiday experience (see figure 1.4).

The concept of 'activities', such as visiting attractions or taking a cultural holiday, thus producing 'benefits', was derived from hierarchical typologies (Haas Driver and Brown 1980; Beeho and Prentice 1995). This idea was combined, with the theory of the laddering technique (Reynolds and Gutman 1988), which suggests that individuals are motivated to participate in activities by a hierarchy of motivations or values. Consequently, in figure 1.4 the benefits of remembered experience appear as an 'output', or as the final stage of the model. Combined, these approaches not only list the benefits that may be derived from participating in cultural tourism, but also attempt to explain the reasons why these are considered important. This was incorporated into the deductive model as a means of explaining why individuals might choose to recall certain aspects of a holiday and why an effort is made to recall certain memories, through social discourse, private reminiscence, photographs and souvenirs, while others may be suppressed. The literature (see chapter one, section 1.8) suggested that benefits might include increased insight (Relph 1976; Prentice 1996a; 1996b; Prentice, Witt and Wydenbach 1994), knowledge (Falk and Dierking 1992), and social status (Krippendorf 1987). Again this could be represented as three overlapping circles, as none are mutually exclusive (see figure 1.4).

As discussed in this chapter, section 4.1 above, interview data were organised into categories so that they could be better understood. This was an inductive process, for although the researcher had the above theories in mind when reviewing the data, categories were derived from the data and the terms used by the respondents to describe their memories (Miles and Huberman 1994). Having established these, patterns of connection were sought in order to explain the features of the data. This resulted in the production of inductive models of remembered experience (see figures 3.2, 4.2, 5.2, 6.2 and 7.2).

Each model relates to a main data set, for example how learning is remembered (figure 3.2), or how souvenirs function as memory prompts (6.2). Figures 3.2, 4.2 and 5.2 each take one aspect of remembered experience (learning, authenticity, or relaxation) as shown in figures 1.1 and 1.4 and elaborate upon this. Each model is based on data collected during interviews in which no memory prompts were used. In contrast Figures 6.2 and 7.2 show how souvenirs and photographs prompt memories of cultural holidays and are based on data collected in the second phase of investigation. While photographs (figure 7.2) appear to inspire a variety of holiday memories (learning, authenticity and relaxation), souvenirs are more likely highlight aspects of authenticity (figure 6.2) and consequently the inductive model shows this emphasis.

In addition to this, the models can be used as a means of mapping each chapter, as each chapter is based on a main data set. Each model shows the main categories and sub-categories that were identified in the data and these were translated into chapter headings

and sub-headings. Each figure also contains a box in which the main research questions of the chapter are posed. As well as answering these questions, chapters three to seven aim to show how the inductive and deductive models of experience compare. These points are discussed further in chapter eight.

The Cultural Holiday as a Learning Experience

3.1. Introduction

3.1.1. The composite model of remembered experience

This chapter compares the deductive model, described in chapter one, section 1.9, with an inductive model of learning derived from fifty interviews with couples who had been to Europe on a cultural holiday within the last three years. It aims to review the ‘deductive composite model of remembered experience’ in the context of learning during cultural holidays. The model (see figure 3.1) proposes that personal, physical and social contexts interact to form different types of experience, in this case a learning experience. The personal context has particular relevance in this process as it affects both the choice of, and reaction to, holiday experiences. It is suggested that memories of learning experiences may also overlap to some extent with memories of authentic experiences and memories of relaxation. Experiences may be remembered as being either beneficial or not, and may be motivated by higher goals that drive the personal agenda. When recalling learning experiences in a social context past experiences may be reconstructed to further concepts of self-identity and social status.

Central questions that this chapter aims to address are:

1. What constitutes a learning experience?
2. What helps or hinders the learning experience?
3. Why do past cultural tourists value learning experiences?

DEDUCTIVE COMPOSITE MODEL OF
THE REMEMBERED LEARNING EXPERIENCE

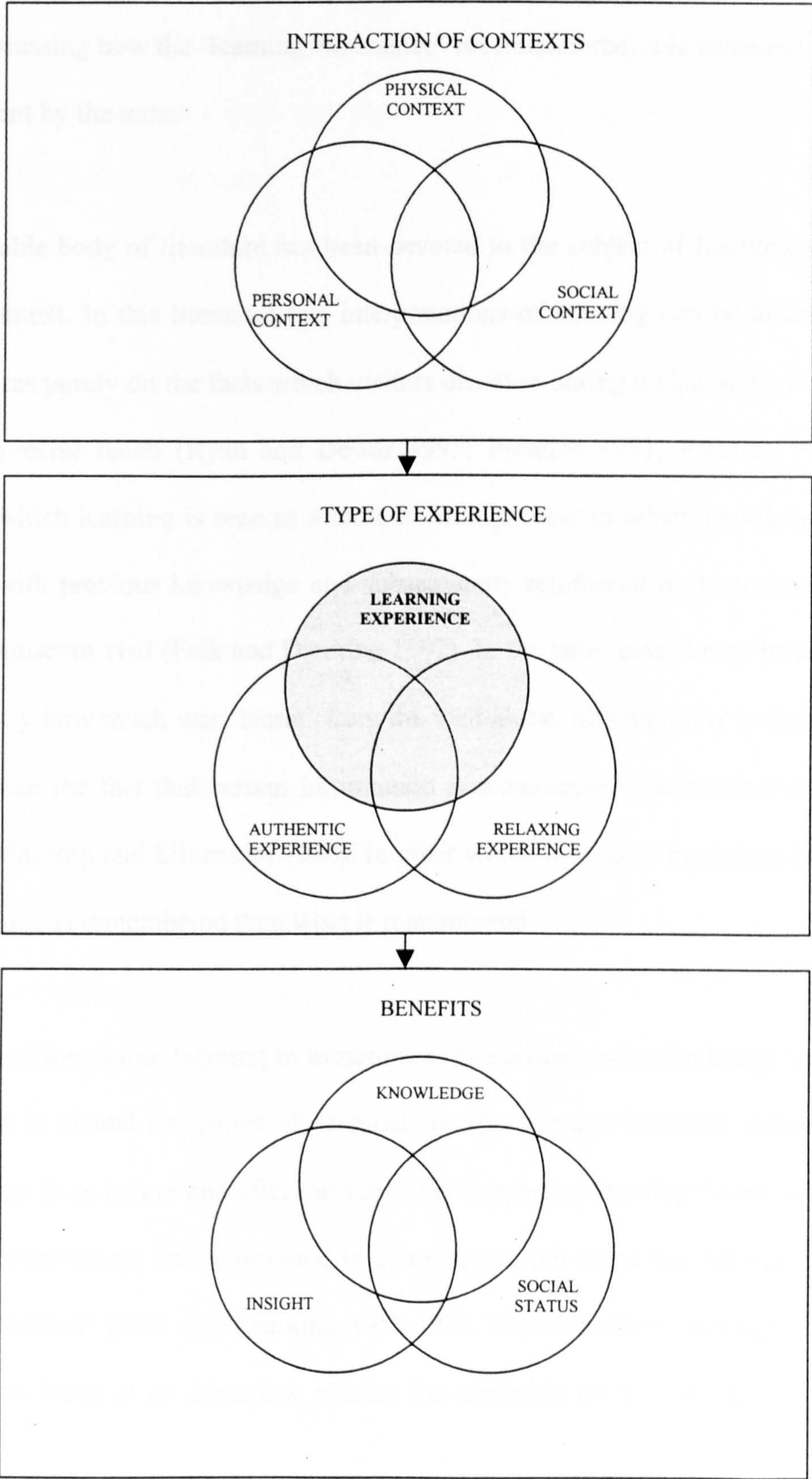


Figure 3.1

3.1.2. Learning and experience

Prior to discussing how the 'learning experience' is remembered, it is necessary to define what is meant by the term.

A considerable body of literature has been devoted to the subject of learning within the museum context. In this literature two interpretations of learning can be discerned, one which focuses purely on the facts which visitors discover during a visit and which can be tested for precise recall (Ryan and Dewar 1995; Prentice 1993; Prentice 1998), and another in which learning is seen as a more holistic process in which new knowledge is integrated with previous knowledge and subsequently reinforced by experiences which follow the museum visit (Falk and Dierking 1992). In the latter case it may be difficult to define exactly how much was 'learnt' from the visit alone, although this is arguably less important than the fact that certain information is remembered whilst other aspects are forgotten (Masberg and Silverman 1996). In other words it is more important to consider why something is remembered than what is remembered.

Falk and Dierking define learning in museums as the process of assimilating 'events and observations in mental categories of personal significance and character, determined by events in their lives before and after the visit. What separates learning from experience is that not all experiences are assimilated in this manner, but those that are can be said to have been learned' (Falk and Dierking 1992:123). This considers learning to be more than the facts learnt at an attraction, placing the emphasis on the way in which people

develop a meaningful understanding of their experiences. It focuses on processing information and requires that some attention be paid to the way in which individuals appear to categorise and otherwise process their remembered experiences of visits and learning. It is equally applicable to the cultural holiday as a whole as to individual visits to museums and heritage attractions.

Within the cultural holiday there is potential for 'learning' to take place in a number of contexts, outside of specific cultural attractions such as museums, galleries, castles and places. It is possible to view the overall holiday as a visit to a giant attraction, in which one is constantly learning new things about both the past and present culture. Indeed, the Economic and Social Consultative Assembly of the EU suggests that though contact with contemporary cultural life cultural tourists 'will also gain a direct understanding and appreciation of the local population's current achievements and of their attitudes, way of thought and customs' (1992). The extent to which this is actually possible is of some debate. Insider-outsider typologies suggest that although tourists may attempt to gain insight into the places they visit, a comprehensive understanding of another culture's 'way of thought' is unlikely to be achieved from a single visit. It is probably not possible even when tourists frequently return to an area, as the tourist's 'holiday' experience of a foreign culture is necessarily different to the 'every-day' cultural experience of local people (Prentice 1996; Cohen 1979; Urry 1995). However, some level of comprehension may be obtained, leading to increased tolerance of and appreciation for other cultures.

In this chapter the term 'learning' is used to refer to the context suggested by Falk and Dierking (1992). It is recognised that learning is distinct from experiences in general, learning requiring a particular style of cognitive processing. Rather than being contradictory, the term 'experience' is used to emphasise the personal context of learning, and learning as a process, rather than the sum of facts learnt. This more holistic approach is preferred as it seems closer to the 'real life' experiences reported by interviewees.

3.2. Personal contexts

3.2.1. Introduction

The deductive composite model of learning experience suggests that the personal context influences the learning experience in combination with the social and physical context (see chapter one, section 1.9). Although Falk and Dierking (1992) place equal emphasis on each of the three contexts, the laddering technique, which is proposed by Reynolds and Gutman (1988) and incorporated into the deductive composite model, causes the personal context to be emphasised. While the social and physical contexts remain important, it is suggested that the personal context is driven by 'higher motives', such as the desire to gain insight into places and their cultures (Prentice 1996; Urry 1995). This may in turn be driven by a higher motive, such as the wish to develop one's personal hobbies or interests. It is suggested that the personal context may influence the choice of places visited and activities that tourists carry out. It may also affect the way in which a tourist responds to and remembers an experience. Data from interviews with past cultural tourists indicate that three areas within the personal context had a particular influence on how tourists responded to the places that they visited (see figure 3.2). These are hobbies

INDUCTIVE COMPOSITE MODEL OF THE REMEMBERED LEARNING EXPERIENCE

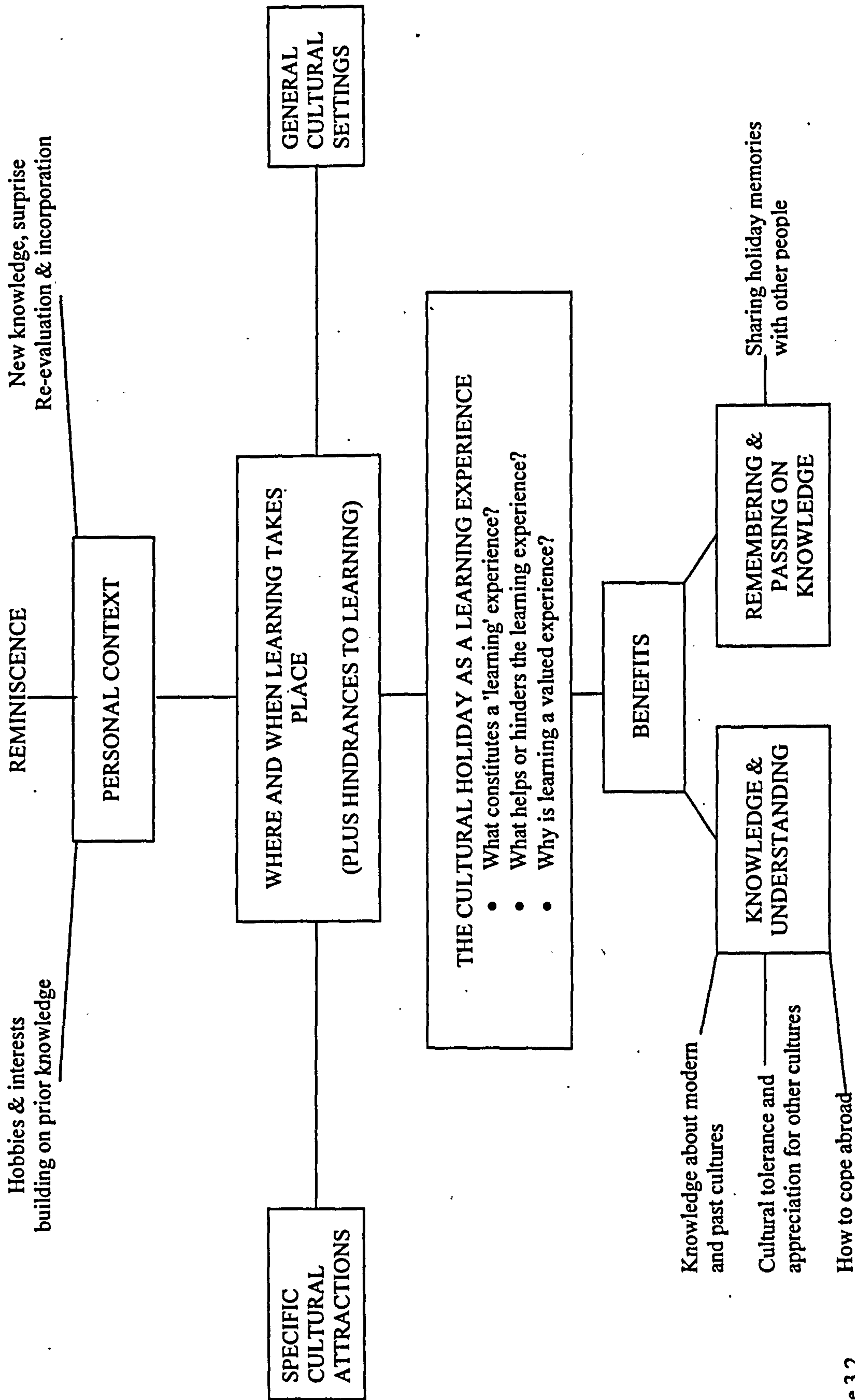


Figure 3.2

and interests or opportunities to build on prior knowledge, reminiscence, and new knowledge and surprises. These points are discussed in turn below.

3.2.2. Hobbies and interests or opportunities to build on prior knowledge

Falk and Dierking (1995) illustrated in their study that an individual's interest in a particular topic was likely to influence the focus of the remembered experience, information on a subject being more easily remembered if it furthered prior knowledge. Visitors were more likely to spend time at exhibits that related to personal interests and remembered the exhibit in the context of their hobbies or interests. Similarly, in a study of tourists visiting a socio-industrial heritage museum in Britain, it was found that a large segment of the visitors particularly liked the exhibits in which they had a personal interest or to which they could relate directly (Beeho and Prentice 1995). In the current study twenty respondents (out of a total of one hundred) mentioned how their personal interests and prior knowledge had affected their response to the places they had visited (see figure 3.2).

Personal interests structure the holiday to some extent, and the memory of certain incidents may be more vivid because of this. Often the effect of a personal interest on the visiting agenda is taken for granted. However, four respondents made explicit reference to this, one describing a recent holiday as '*a project to see Monet's garden*' (A5; F72). The gardens were the central part of her memory of the holiday, supported by the memory of a visit to the Orangerie to view some of Monet's paintings.

Seven respondents remembered incidents from their past holidays in the context of ongoing hobbies. A man who had visited Prague explained that the hotel he and his wife stayed in was particularly notable because of its many Art Nouveau details. This was particularly special because he had, '*a particular interest in that period*' and collected pieces of Art Nouveau china (A24; M47). He had taken several photographs of architectural details to add to his collection of artefacts, and showed an obvious enthusiasm in the subject as he pointed out why the hotel sign was a particularly good example. While another tourist might have casually remarked on the design, this tourist paid particular attention to the details because of his interest in the period, applying his knowledge of the period to unveil its meaning, and noted the examples from Prague to further his understanding of the period as a whole.

In five cases interest was enhanced by the recall of things that had been taught either at school or at university. For example, a male respondent described a visit to Albertville, on the Normandy coast, '*we went to a museum there...and then we went to some trenches that had been left as they were... they still had the barbed wire bits and they had a monument... I did it at school so it was interesting. I knew the history and I knew how difficult it was at the time... the history is quite fascinating*' (B11; M32).

Husbands and wives may or may not share similar memories of a place. Of the three respondents who mentioned the influence of their spouse two revealed the potential for social and personal contexts to overlap, as suggested in the deductive composite model (figure 3.1). Having recounted in detail a visit to an interpretative centre about Gaudi's

work one woman commented, *'I don't have a particular interest in Gaudi but my husband is an architect and has an interest in it, and in Barcelona Gaudi is such an important architect'* (B18; F48). The husband's interest led to time being spent looking at Gaudi's architecture and visiting associated museums. This influenced the composition of the holiday itinerary, which is in turn reflected in the wife's memories. In contrast to this another woman demonstrated how the personal context may remain dominant when she said, *'my memory [of the holiday] will be different because I particularly like art galleries. My husband on the other hand would probably remember the visit to Toledo most clearly because he's interested in Spanish history'* (A1; F45). As she did not share her husband's interest in the Spanish civil war the visit to Toledo earned no more than a brief mention, while visits to museums were elaborated at length.

It is possible that where a personal link cannot be established less will be learnt at the attraction or remembered of it. Falk and Dierking point out that learning is a continual process of reinforcement, consolidation and reshaping: *'knowledge is personally constructed and is always built on, and consolidated with previous knowledge.'* Where information is totally new it may be harder to remember, because no reinforcement has occurred (Falk and Dierking 1992). This was suggested in the following example, when the respondent said, *'we also visited a royal palace within Copenhagen, and looked around. We saw paintings and furniture. Perhaps because it doesn't relate directly to Scottish history, which is what I am more interested in, nothing particularly stuck.'* (A7; M43). However, contrary to this, as discussed below in this chapter, section 2.4, some memories may make an impact because of their surprise value.

3.2.3. Reminiscence

It has been found that some museums have the ability to stimulate personal memories, to offer an opportunity to reminisce about past personal experiences (Beeho and Prentice 1995) and to convey a sense of familiarity (McIntosh and Prentice 1999). This is another means by which individuals can establish a personal link between themselves and the place that is visited. Although only mentioned by six respondents in the current study, reminiscence appeared to add to the experience of places visited, and to provide a significant reason for remembering and recalling the incident (see figure 3.2).

The examples below support the idea put forward by Masberg and Silverman that, 'through the self-selective nature of memory, we store recollections which are meaningful to us' (Masberg and Silverman 1996: 21), it being easier for the tourist to remember occasions and features that are related to his or her personal history because they have an immediate relevance to the individual. However, events and features can also make an impression on the memory because they are notably different to ordinary experiences (Baddeley 1996) as discussed in this chapter, section 2.4 below.

In five cases a place triggered memories of a previous visit or visits to that place. Revisiting was considered special because of the particular set of memories that were evoked by returning to the place in which they were formed. For example, one woman explained that she had lived in Barcelona *'for a long time and so every time we go back there it is quite special'* (B14; F48). In another case a woman described the experience of

sitting in a cafe, in Brittany, eating pancakes '*which were a local speciality*'. For her it was a memorable experience not only for the '*happy atmosphere*', but also because '*the meal reminded me of similar ones that I'd had in Brittany years ago when I went with my parents, sort of my experience of France*' (B8; F30). Reminiscence was triggered not only by the place, but also by a particular experience within that place, which had come to symbolise the authentic experience of France. As the experience is repeated on subsequent visits so the store of memories associated with that experience will grow and be embellished.

An attraction may also trigger memories of another place experienced by the visitor, owing to a common feature existing in both places. For one respondent an attraction prompted memories of childhood in Africa. As the respondent described, '*we used to live in Africa and I suppose it [Karen Blixen's house] brought back memories of when we used to live there. My parents had also been there a few years beforehand and they hadn't managed to get into the house to see it. When we went the house was open and we went for a look round... I suppose it just brought back memories of living in Africa, although I was quite small when we left. It was special because of the associations. I don't really remember much about the house except... no I can't... we went out into the garden and then we went to visit her gravestone. I really can't remember too much more about it, except that she had all the pictures of when she was in Africa, and all the other work she had done*' (A7; F39). The power of reminiscence is such in this case that the associations that the attraction evoked have all but eclipsed the memory of the attraction itself.

3.2.4. New knowledge, surprise, re-evaluation and incorporation

Where prior knowledge does not exist about a subject, it is possible that new knowledge may not be assimilated as easily and may even be forgotten because the individual fails to recognise a significant reason for remembering it. Alternatively, it is possible that new experiences or knowledge may generate surprise and make an impression on the memory because they stand out as being different from other experiences. The additional effort required to process the information might make the information memorable. It is also possible that comparisons may be made between 'new' information and other similar information leading to the re-evaluation of categories or the creation of new ones (see figure 3.2). The examples below show that when faced with new and different experiences the individual may deal with the information in a number of different ways.

New information or experiences may generate surprise, when the individual realises that it does not fit their definition of pre-existing categories (Baddeley 1996). This may be as far as the experience is evaluated, as if a file comprising 'odd' and 'unusual' experiences exists somewhere in our minds. The episodic memory (the memory of the episode or experience) may remain distinct because it has not been processed and integrated into a general schema of understanding (Cohen 1989), referred to by Tulvig as semantic knowledge (1972). Wright and Gaskell (1992) suggest that unusual experiences are memorable if they have an emotional value, those that do not are more likely to be forgotten. Therefore the sense of surprise that these experiences arouse may cause of them to be remembered. In this study, twelve respondents described at least one of their remembered experiences as being 'odd', 'strange' or 'different'. Often these terms were

used to sum up or conclude the remembered episode, as in the following example where, having described a castle's spiral staircase, the respondent summarised, '*it was really nice and it was notable, being unusual*' (A7; M43). In this case it would appear that the feature is remembered for being different with no further effort to process the information having been made.

However, in the narratives of other respondents an attempt to comprehend the 'peculiar' was apparent. One woman found a visit to Rome and the Vatican of St. Peter's particularly memorable because of the '*whole religious thing. I mean there were so many nuns at the airport, I remember that, nuns and priests, and monks, quite bizarre. And yet at the same time Rome is so cosmopolitan. That was quite bizarre. I think that was the thing that stuck out for me. It was a religious yet modern city*' (A9; F33). In this case the respondent found it hard to reconcile a strong religious presence with a modern city, the two categories being seen in opposition to each other and therefore being considered '*quite bizarre*' occurring together. It was '*bizarre*' because it failed to conform to her definitions of existing categories, but had not caused them to be revised. A second woman had visited a Thear church that she described as '*strange, odd*'. When asked to explain why this was so she elaborated, '*well Thear churches are hundreds of years old, they are wooden structures and you don't expect wooden structures to be so old*' (B5; F48). Douglas (1966) explains why certain foods are forbidden to the Jews by arguing that matter that is 'out of place', or that deviates from the norm, is classified as dirty or dangerous. Although, this judgement is not applied in the examples above, they do appear to stand out in the respondent's memory as being matter out of place.

Some information may initially appear to be totally new, and different to anything previously experienced, but, through the coding process, links with similarly coded information may be made. The act of processing information in this manner may cause several memories that have been classified in a similar way to be recalled once a single memory has been triggered. In three cases memories appeared to have been filed using a combination of terms or associated images, the memory of one leading to the retrieval of a second related memory. For example, one man repeatedly used the word 'strange' when recalling his visit to the Catacombs outside Rome. This memory was also coded as 'burial' or 'death' by the respondent, which led to an associated memory of visiting '*a memorial to prisoners of war, or Italian soldiers, so it was a day of the dead as it were, seeing all these things*' (A15; M42). The two memories were related temporally, as well as through other associations. In addition to this both memories were seen in contrast to the city of Rome itself, which held less favoured impressions, '*it was nice, because it was different from Rome and all the other stuff. It was unusual*' (A15; M42).

In six cases a personal point of reference was derived from a comparison with features or places in Scotland. This provided a means of classifying the experience in the memory of the tourist while also providing a way to convey understanding to other people who shared the meanings suggested by those references. For example, one respondent described Koblenz in Germany as '*very like Edinburgh, lovely panoramic views, trees*' (A13; M43), while the industrial region of northern Spain was described by one couple as '*a bit like wall to wall Grangemouth*' (B6; M32), this being a heavily industrialised town

in West Lothian. In another case Edinburgh was used as a reference point to show the difference between Scotland and Sweden, the town of Malmö being described as, *'beautiful, it was pedestrianized... the inner cities were developed, unlike our own city here in Edinburgh. Everybody was shopping for Christmas and it was such a contrast to shopping in Edinburgh where we are blasted by traffic all the way through'* (A14; M47).

3.2.5 Concluding comments about the personal context

The personal context can affect the cultural tourist's response to, and memory of, learning experiences in a number of ways. Hobbies and personal subjects of interest will influence each stage of the holiday experience, the attractions that are visited, the features that are considered interesting and how they are recalled. The interests of a partner may also affect how the visit is remembered, causing social and personal contexts to overlap; however in a number of cases the personal context is clearly more important. Past cultural tourists may also develop personal connections with a place through reminiscence, recalling previous visits or other places where a mental connection is made. New knowledge may be more difficult to assimilate, but is understood through a process of coding that allows similarly coded memories to be retrieved, and places to be compared or contrasted.

3.3. Where and how learning takes place

3.3.1. Introduction

The deductive composite model of learning experience shows that the 'activity' of learning takes place in cultural settings, referred to by Falk and Dierking (1992)

as physical contexts (see figure 3.1). Data from interviews with past cultural tourists (see figure 3.2) indicate that learning takes place during visits to cultural attractions and in general cultural settings. However, hindrances to the learning process are also apparent. These points are discussed in turn below.

3.3.2. Visits to specific cultural attractions

Visits to specific cultural attractions, or heritage attractions, form an important component of cultural holidays (Richards 1996). Such visiting experiences typically provide an opportunity to learn about places and their history but may also provide 'authentic' experiences and opportunities to relax (see figure 3.1). However, the current section focuses on the learning experience within cultural attractions and how cultural tourists attempt to gain insight into European culture through such visits. Fifty-five respondents made detailed mention of visits to historical attractions or museums, of which forty suggested that learning was the most important element of the visiting experience.

Twenty-one of these respondents mentioned using guidebooks, information panels or guided tours to gain knowledge about the place that they were visiting, which suggests a certain level of mindfulness (Moscardo 1996). Following the pattern of previous research (see Stevenson 1991; MacManus 1996; Masberg and Silverman 1993) it was found that the experience of learning was more likely to be recalled than factual information. One respondent commented, '*in Embruid they had a twelfth century church... one of those green Michelin guides took us round the various parts*' (B21; M33). Similarly, another

respondent enjoyed a guided tour of a castle because, *'the guide was just excellent, the information that he gave us was just so interesting'* (A6; M54). No information about the castle was volunteered.

Where factual information was recalled it was embedded in the visiting experience. As one respondent explained, *'if it had not been for the book, we would not have come across this café, which was where all the burgers and merchants of La Rochelle went from the 1600s on. The place was so palatial there is no way to describe it. Even the toilets were absolutely amazing... anyway, we had a marvellous lunch and the place was full of history. I loved it'* (A21; F43). Historical details are balanced with the experience of eating a meal and the emotions that the place evoked. This concurs with recent research by Cunneen and Prentice (2000), which shows emotions to be an important dimension of intangible experience when visiting museums and galleries.

The following narrative, describing one of Gaudi's houses, suggests an explanation as to why respondents may not recall factual information.

'I liked the roof, which had these wonderful chimneys. The chimneystacks were shaped like veiled women, characteristically covered in mosaics, which is very Gaudi...and a very good interpretative centre. It was really quite excellent in explaining concepts like how you calculate the certain of a dome, which I never understood before. But, it was amazing. They had a kind of structure of string and weights that they used to demonstrate how you could find the curve. Don't ask me how they do it - but they had it there and it made sense' (B18; F48)

As with the examples above, the learning experience is valued and recalled rather than the detailed information that the display conveyed. The respondent remembered the subject of the display, but feared that her memory of the details might be faulty. Instead she focuses on the feeling that she learnt something and had understood what had been conveyed. This shows that the learning experience can be recalled after a longer duration than the memory of specific facts assimilated at the same time.

Twelve respondents alluded to learning information without mentioning how the information had been gathered, but again only vague details were provided. For example, one man, who had visited the Van Gogh museum in Amsterdam, said that the visit was special '*just because I had never realised about all the paintings, the colours that were used, how he went mad, how the paintings show the deterioration in his mental state, how he painted on the frames, his use of strong colours, his self portraits. Basically it was amazing*' (B11; M32). The respondent did not mention reading any interpretative media but it is unlikely that his description of Van Gogh's work was deduced from the pictures alone. Importantly, the respondent remembers the type of information that he learnt, but does not elaborate on any of these areas. He also remembers his reaction to the learning experience and considers the experience to be memorable because it '*was amazing*', a process of discovery. This suggests, not only the mindfulness of the respondent (Moscardo 1996) but also supports the theory that we remember experiences that excite an emotional response (Wright and Gaskell (1992).

In seven cases respondents focused on incidents that were central to the holiday because they offered a key to understanding an aspect of the culture or place. One respondent described how the 'discovery' of a style of art gave a structure to the cultural holiday. The respondent explained how she and her husband had visited Toledo, *'and what really added to the place was the El Greco paintings. We went to the El Greco house, where all the El Greco paintings are and that sort of got us started on the El Greco paintings and after that we took more interest in all the rest'* (B6F). Having been interested by the one museum, an effort was made to find other places exhibiting similar works. This experience provided a focus for viewing artworks during the holiday.

Similarly, information learnt in a museum may be transferred to general cultural settings providing an insight into the place as a whole. As one woman explained, *'the other thing on that trip which has brought it to life, which has brought other holidays alive, was going to the local museum where you could trace back the history of the place and actually see how the city had developed... that's another thing we try to do on our holidays... get an overview and what it's all about and I think that helps you when you are walking along the streets'* (A3; F49). In this case the information from the museum was used as a starting point to understand the cultural features seen while walking through the streets of Amsterdam.

3.3.3. General cultural settings

Brown (1993) classified types of landscape into five categories, which related to the degree of human impact upon them. At one end of the spectrum he identified natural landscape as having negligible human impact. In ascending order of impact, managed

landscapes or harvested lands, cultivated landscapes with agriculture, suburban, and urban landscapes followed. It is recognised that natural landscapes can be endowed with cultural significance (Brown, 1993; Lowenthal, 1993) however, the term 'cultural landscape' or 'general cultural setting' is used here to refer to landscapes which have been modified by humans, ranging from agricultural landscapes through to villages, towns and cities. In contrast to the specific cultural attraction, in which the focus is on a single building or site, this category considers the wider landscape, including impressions of whole towns, cities, or agricultural areas.

Like specific attractions, cultural settings have the potential to be remembered for a number of different reasons as they offer the opportunity for a number of different experiences (see figure 3.1). While sixteen respondents remembered general cultural settings in terms of a learning experience this was less frequent than memories of learning at cultural attractions (see above). This is probably not surprising as specific attractions tend to offer information about the history and cultural context, while cultural landscapes are less likely to offer interpretation, the cultural tourist often being expected to make their own observations and deductions. One exception is heritage trails, which have been established in a number of regions throughout Europe. While no respondents in the current sample mentioned following such a trail it is possible that interpretation panels were available in some places. A second explanation for the lower number of learning orientated examples within this category may be a perception that while heritage attractions are primarily valued for providing opportunity to learn, the general cultural setting is less clearly associated with learning objectives.

In seven cases the landscape was appreciated because it offered both evidence of the cultural heritage and because it was aesthetically pleasing. Although, streets are not designed to inspire tourists to learn about them, unlike museums where there is an intention to educate, in these descriptions cultural landscapes were not just appreciated for being 'pretty' or 'beautiful', but were transformed into something 'interesting', the use of this word also conveying a sense of curiosity felt by the cultural tourist. For example, one woman described the Lasíthi plateau as being *'interesting because of its windmills, now machine powered... for agriculture on this high plateaux... very picturesque'* (A4; F60). Cultural heritage adds to the aesthetic appeal of the place, but at the same time information about the area is remembered.

Although many of the general cultural settings appear to have lacked direct interpretation, four respondents appeared able to make deductions from their observations and showed a high level of mindfulness when describing the cultural landscapes that they had seen. As mentioned in this chapter section 3.1 things, which had been learnt during a visit to a specific attraction, were often reinforced by seeing evidence within the wider cultural setting. One woman clearly related what she had learnt in a museum to an experience of looking at a town from the vantage point of a local hill when she said, *'it just made you see Heidelberg as a whole and think about the city as it was, a university city. You get a little feeling of the history when you see it all. It made you think about the history. It had been very rainy while we were there and we had been into a number of museums. It was interesting. It gave you a concept of how Europe, and in particular Germany had been*

divided into so many different kingdoms. Just winding up above it, the view, time to think and look at it, relax and have lunch, and see local people doing different things' (A17; F51). This shows the importance of experiential processes such as imagination in the consumption of cultural tourism (Goosens 2000; Hirshman and Holbrook 1982).

Two respondents included brief factual information in their narrations suggesting that they had used interpretative media, (provided at the site or through a guidebook) although they did not refer to this directly. For example, one woman described a visit to San Gimignano, in Tuscany, saying, *'it was all towers people had built years ago, because the wealthiest people built the tallest towers. I think originally there had been about seventy odd towers, when we were there I can't remember how many there were left. A lot of them had fallen down because they hadn't been built that well. It was just really narrow streets, with tall buildings either side. It was really, really nice... it was a great experience'* (A11; F32). This suggests that knowledge is remembered in a similar form at both general and specific cultural attractions.

Local people may also provide visitors with information. Interaction with local people is valued by cultural tourists as a means of establishing an 'authentic' experience of a place (Harkin 1995; Prentice, Witt and Wydenbach 1994). However, for the inquisitive tourist contact with the local population also offers a chance to learn about both the history and the modern culture of a place in a less formal relationship than that which exists between tourist and guide at attractions. Only three respondents mentioned this as a source of information, which may be due to tourists having an insufficient grasp of the local

language to engage in detailed conversation. One man, who had been visiting Norway for a number of years showed how his interest in the Second World War was investigated through a combination of talking to local people and observing the cultural landscape, *'I feel that I have much more interest in a much more personalised way because I am able to speak to people in Norway who have lived through that experience... the occupation... and as you go through Norway you still see reminders of what happened and the devastation that the occupation left'* (B5; M56). This means of gaining information may also be favoured by cultural tourists because it is more self-directed and may produce a sense of unique discovery not be available by following directions in a guidebook.

Participation or observation of the daily way of life in a particular region is likely to teach tourists about culture in that area. In the current sample this was expressed in the form of general comments and observations about a region or country as is discussed in greater detail in the this chapter, section 4.2 below.

The experience of travelling through a foreign place may also teach the tourist techniques of dealing with difficult situations or encounters. Again, this is an aspect that is discussed in greater detail in this chapter, section 4.3 below.

3.3.4. Hindrances to the learning process

Hindrances to the learning process are likely to be seen in a negative light not only because the learning is seen as a positive experience, but also because they prevent the tourist obtaining benefits derived from learning experiences (see figure 3.2). Where

learning does not take place the visit may be less memorable, this offering one explanation of the low frequency with which such incidents were reported. Secondly, when asked to recall negative memories, factors hindering relaxation were more likely to be mentioned because they aroused stronger feelings or were more likely to affect the holiday as a whole (see this chapter, section 5.4). Similarly, Cunneen and Prentice (2000) found that while experiences of learning tended to be recalled in a positive light, visitors were more likely to refer to tangible aspects of a museum visit, such as the condition of the toilets, when asked to recall negative features. Thirdly, it may simply be that problems of this nature are infrequent.

Two respondents mentioned the disappointment of attractions being closed when they had tried to visit. Owing to tight visiting agendas it is often difficult to visit later in the holiday as this would mean sacrificing a visit elsewhere. A third respondent commented on the feeling of frustration that was aroused by stringent closing times which meant that the visit had to be curtailed, *'in Germany it was so rigid. You couldn't ask, "could you accommodate us for five minutes more..." it can be very difficult, especially with children. It can be frustrating'* (A14; M43).

Two respondents mentioned insufficient interpretation and the poor quality of exhibitions as factors that detracted from visiting experiences. A male respondent described in general terms the effect of insufficient interpretation, *'unless you are an expert, or know all about the history of the place you get absolutely no benefit out of it. For example, a couple of years ago I went to Rome, to the Coliseum. There was no one there and it was*

full of litter... I didn't know anything about it... except that they put lions in there and Christians and all that, but there was no one there, no guides, no information. So apart from seeing it, to say that I'd been there I got no value out of it' (B11; M35). 'Merely' seeing the place is not sufficient, as it does not satisfy the desire to learn about its history. Meanwhile, a female respondent related that she *'went to see a thing about Cézanne, and saw where he lived and where he painted and so on. I must say I think it would have been better done here. It was very overgrown. When you see his paintings, he would have had a view. There was no view at all, it was all bushes and trees and dusty and well'* (B10; F55). In this case the quality was judged by knowledge of what the place would have been like in the past and by comparison with similar attractions visited in Scotland, revealing the cultural capital of the respondent.

Finally, one respondent mentioned that insufficient knowledge of the local language reduced the benefit of interpretation that was offered. She stated briefly, *'In Hungary I felt I might have missed a lot because of the language barrier... it's not a problem in Italy because I speak Italian'* (B2; F37). Taking guided tours in English may provide a means of overcoming this problem (mentioned by three respondents), while two other respondents said that it was not much of a problem because English translations of interpretative media were available in the countries that they visited.

3.3.5. Conclusions

Falk and Dierking state that, 'all learning occurs within a physical context, and this contextual stamp ultimately becomes important in determining what information is perceived, how it is stored, and when and how it is recalled' (1995: 112) The examples discussed in the above section focused on two types of context, specific cultural attractions and general cultural settings. Data from interviews with past cultural tourists showed that learning experiences took place in general cultural settings as well as at specific cultural attractions, although learning experiences were of a more specific nature at the latter. This may have been because specific cultural attractions are visited with the intention to learn something, while learning in general cultural settings was more incidental. Secondly, some overlap occurred between the two contexts, information that was learnt in the museum context being applied to general cultural settings to produce an understanding of the place. In both types of setting some factual information was recalled, although narrated memories were more likely to focus on the experience of learning than on detailed facts. Finally, a limited number of hindrances to the learning process were identified.

3.4. Knowledge and understanding

3.4.1. Introduction

The deductive composite model suggests that cultural tourists participate in learning experience for the benefits that they produce (see figure 3.1). While one reason for seeking learning experiences may be that they are considered enjoyable, other benefits may include acquiring knowledge about aspects of modern and past cultures, developing

an appreciation for and tolerance of other cultures, and learning how to cope abroad (see figure 3.2). These points are discussed in turn below.

3.4.2. Knowledge about modern and past cultures

The focus of most of the narrated memories was the experience of learning, rather than the information that was conveyed. However, this did not exclude the mention of cultural details that were remembered in relation to those experiences. This concurs with the studies of Masberg and Silverman (1993) and McManus (1996), both of which showed episodic memories to predominate (see section 1.5). The recalled information could be used to assemble a list of facts recalled by past cultural tourists. However, this would be flawed for three reasons. Firstly, respondents were asked for their spontaneous memories, and were not asked to recall specific information about places that they had visited. It is likely that more information would have been recalled if more questions had been asked and, therefore, the list would not be an accurate representation of how much was recalled. Secondly, any list would fail to explain why the learning experience was considered beneficial to individuals. Thirdly, it is possible that the facts recalled might be imbedded in the experience of learning them, making the separation of fact and experience an artificial division. For this reason the following section focuses on a limited number of cases that reveal the benefits of learning about both modern and past cultures. This section shows that the knowledge that cultural tourists gain on holiday can be understood in terms of the benefits produced by it.

Seeing cultural artefacts may benefit an individual through the rekindling interest in a hobby. As one respondent explained, *'another thing that I particularly liked was the Bayeux tapestry... I have done some tapestry myself, not so much recently, but I've been thinking that I would take it up again'* (A17; F51). Although the respondent does not say that this is as a direct result of the visit, it may be inferred that it was.

Learning about specific places can also lead to an increased appreciation of the aspects of cultural history. As one respondent explained, *'It is important that they (the children) grow up with an appreciation of what Europe is like... how buildings in Europe were developed in the past, the time they took to construct, unlike the rapid building now'* (A14; M43). In this case learning experiences are considered to be particularly valuable as they are used to teach the respondent's children about the significance and value of Europe's cultural past.

Alternatively, learning about the history of a place may increase an individual's appreciation of the benefits of modern culture. For example, one woman described a visit to a ruined village saying, *'it is very much a ruin now, but they had tried to refurbish some of the houses and one of the churches and it was just incredible... those people must have been so poor... it was wonderful because it was so remote and cut off, isolated. But, I don't think that I would I would like to live there, even though it looked wonderful. I suppose it made me selfishly appreciate what we have here'* (B7; F37). Although there is some desire for a quieter life, the harsh realities of the past are recognised, leading to an appreciation of the present day.

Learning about aspects of European culture directly may also lead to new perspectives being developed. As one respondent said of seeing a painting of the Primavera *'that was an important part of my holiday in Florence because of the different outlook it gave me. To a certain extent we were doing the galleries, because that is what you go to Florence for... but it was much more, much more an experience that I enjoyed than I expected it would be. I enjoy looking at art, but I don't know very much about it at all. I like impressionists, and from them more towards modern art. But I think it is like everything else, the more you look at it the more you appreciate it. You have to go and look at things, rather than just looking in books, books just don't give you the full flavour'* (A8; F50). Seeing a cultural artefact first hand was remembered as being beneficial because it led to an appreciation for, and enjoyment of a style of art that had not been appreciated previously.

3.4.3. Cultural tolerance and appreciation for other cultures

The E.U. states that one of the benefits of cultural tourism is that it potentially promotes cultural understanding. It is suggested that cultural tourists are more tolerant and understanding of local characteristics and customs that are new to them than other types of tourists, enjoying local customs because they are different, rather than thinking them 'uncivilised' (Economic and Social Consultative Assembly 1990: 22). This view is shared by writers such as D'Amore who suggests that travel and tourism is instrumental in the development of the 'Global Village', encouraging people to see the common bonds that people share (1988). Similarly, Knopf (1991) argues that tourism creates lines of

communication that leads to the spread of understanding. However, in direct opposition to this Krippendorf argues that 'today, when travelling has become a mass phenomenon, tales of understanding among people are nothing more than wishful thinking', with tourism being more likely to enforce stereotypes than broaden people's perspectives (1991: 144). Although the cultural tourist is more likely to search for the 'back regions' in the manner described by MacCannell (1976) and Goffman (1978), they remain aware that the visit is fleeting. Interviews with past cultural tourists reflect both sides of this debate, suggesting that the level of understanding that may be established is dependent on individual attitudes and experiences of the cultural tourists.

Dimensions of the debate are highlighted by the attitudes of individual cultural tourists towards a relatively simple issue such as the timing of meals and related activities such as siestas. At one end of the scale, a respondent explained that the best part of their holiday had been '*seeing our daughter on holiday... and of course she doesn't get taken out at eight, nine, ten o'clock here, but when you are on holiday you eat later and all sorts of things*' (B7; F34). For this respondent the later timing of meals created an element of excitement and provided a means in which 'holiday time' could be distinguished from every-day life. Although, not necessarily adding to 'cultural understanding', differences were accepted and appreciated. In contrast to this two respondents expressed feelings of annoyance that other nations have '*a different sense of time*'. One respondent who had visited the Catalan region of Spain found the siesta period and the late opening of restaurants '*most bizarre*' (B20; M51). Similarly, a man who had visited France said that '*from a British perspective, the idea of a two hour lunch break to tourists is frustrating,*

because in general we lie in, in the morning have a long breakfast, and you are ready to go at about quarter to twelve, and then the French are about to close all the shops...

(A14; M43). Such statements reflect the individual's refusal to adapt to the time scheme of the country. Instead the 'holiday time' expected and preferred by the individual is seen to clash with local behaviours.

The level of tolerance that cultural tourism facilitates is also dependent on the experiences of the tourist at the destination. The apparent hostility of local people towards the tourist is likely to be reciprocated, just as friendly interactions are likely to promote harmony. One couple said they would not return to France because of the language barrier, *'it was actually coastal France that was worst when we went inland it wasn't such a problem, which made me think that it was an attitudinal thing. We tried but... by the end of the holiday I felt that I was less in command of the language than I had been at the beginning because the French people had been so rude to us that I couldn't even bear to try. It made us keep more to ourselves'* (A20; F32).

In four cases respondents revealed an obvious clash between expectations based on a cultural stereotype and actual experience. As one respondent explained of a holiday to Norway and Sweden,

'I had this image of Scandinavia being pristine clean, and full of tanned healthy people and all the usual clichés. And we saw a large number of very overweight Scandinavians, a lot who smoked. I couldn't believe the amount of smoking that went on. And quite often we saw some very drunk people that we weren't really

expecting... and some of their bathing places you just wouldn't dream of going swimming in, in Scotland and they were full of people. It just didn't fit in with the image that I had' (B14; F48).

Individual's who did not fit tourist's image of the typical Scandinavian were like matter that is 'out of place' (Douglas 1966) and were notable because of this. Unfavourable experiences may shatter positive stereotypes. This may broaden the tourist's perspective, but will not necessarily create greater understanding or approval of another culture. Another respondent had imagined Amsterdam as a place of canals and tulips, and was horrified when she discovered the extent of the modern drug 'culture'. Again, the cultural holiday led to a negative re-evaluation of the respondents' perceptions of a place and culture. They saw places as they 'really were', but this did not encourage cultural appreciation. This supports Urry's suggestions that certain aspects of culture are unsuitable and undesirable for the tourist to gaze upon (Urry 1990). In thoughtful moments the returning tourist may ponder that no place is 'sacred' (Graburn 1978) and that all of European countries share similar problems. However, the immediate response is to wish that such sites had not been encountered as they marred the holiday.

Ironically, the promotion of Europe as a 'Global Village' may lead to a degree of 'culture shock' when differences are discovered. One couple had had an image of a homogenous Europe in which cultural differences were minimal and therefore travel and communication were easy. This opinion was derived from frequent holidays to Germanic-speaking countries, a language in which the couple was fluent. However, this

did not prepare them for a holiday in the Catalan region of Spain, which they had ironically chosen because it was 'something different'. The husband recalled;

'I was quite surprised by how different it was, because you tend to think that the whole of Europe is pretty much the same these days, or at least that there is a lot in common... It is a part of Spain where they don't seem to have changed their way of life in a long time. It reminded me of the life style that was around when I was young. They had very much the regional foods and customs, and habits. It was the first time that I had been to Spain, so maybe other parts are different...they think of themselves as a separate region. You saw all the slogans... and there was even some in-fighting between them it seemed. It is interesting from that point of view... the food, you didn't recognise anything on the menu... I had said to our girls that menus are international these days... we had a dictionary with us, and it would take us about an hour, just going through this. You needed to do it, because there was a lot of weird stuff on it, stuff I remember from my childhood, things like tripe and that sort of thing, which we tend not to eat nowadays. So, you had to be careful, you couldn't just sort of choose at random, because if you did there was a good chance that you wouldn't like what you got' (B20; M51).

Rather than celebrating the regional variation the unexpected differences were seen as an uncomfortable challenge that highlighted stark differences between tourists and locals. The description local food as '*weird stuff*' shows a suspicion and distrust of trying things that are too different. While not being described as 'uncivilised' there is certainly an

inference that the Catalan region is somewhat backward, through equating it with a period in Britain approximately thirty years ago.

Scottish culture is often the measure by which other cultures are measured. Where Scottish culture, or the wider British culture, is seen to be lacking, the culture of other countries may be judged more favourably. Four respondents made comments that illustrated this point, three whom commented favourably on the reaction of the Spanish people towards terrorism comparing it to apathetic responses of the British public. As one woman said, *'I remember the reaction of the Spanish saying "no we don't approve of this and we are not going to accept it" I found a really positive thing, because we have the IRA and we just accept it and say "oh dear", we don't get up and march, we don't say that this is not acceptable. That will stick in my memory because of the contrast with the British public'* (B6; F33).

Cultural values play a strong part in the formation of personal attitudes. These values may or may not be shared by the host nation and as such may hinder full understanding from being developed. The following example was notable because it was so obviously value laden. Praising Norway, a respondent said,

'There is a contrast between the natural beauty and the hardness of the life of the people. It is made easier now, because Norway has this wonderful attitude that people have to live where they belong, they mustn't move to the cities. To me the absolute fantastic quality of life the Norwegian people have is due to the importance they place on people being in their own area, and what they do to

attain that in the way of engineering and construction. They have all these communities that are settled on the islands. It is not barren as in Scotland where the old townships have been left, as people have come to the cities. That has not happened in Norway' (A19; F42).

Behind this lie a number of values and assumptions such as, 'people belong in a particular place', 'living in a rural community is better than living in a city', 'change is wrong' and, 'populated landscapes are more attractive than deserted ones'. It is based on a romanticised ideal of Scotland's past and fails to question whether the Norwegian people prefer this way of life or would prefer to move elsewhere.

It would appear, therefore, that there are limitations to cultural tourists achieving a greater tolerance and understanding of other cultures. Although attitudes towards cultural traditions vary considerably with many tourists taking pleasure in cultural differences some tourists conclude that some places were 'too different' for them to enjoy. The local population's current way of life, thought and customs (Economic and Social Consultative Assembly 1990: 22) may be judged by the tourist's own values, preventing full 'insight' into the modern culture. In a limited number of cases cultural tourism might have also produced 'dis-benefits', as where positive images of place were shattered by negative experiences, leading to a less favourable image of other European cultures being formed.

3.4.4. How to cope abroad

The learning experience of cultural tourists also involves the experience of travelling and surviving abroad. Although many cultural tourists saw travel as a regular and

unquestioned part of their lives, some accounts revealed how the tourist gradually becomes a seasoned traveller through his or her holiday experiences (Pearce 1993). This may be considered to be another form of benefit derived from the cultural holiday (see figure 3.2).

Six respondents described the holiday in terms of a learning experience in which they had gradually adjusted to being abroad becoming more at ease with the place and becoming more adventurous. A woman described how her husband had been concerned at seeing drugs being traded outside their hotel and explained, *'also, it was right at the beginning of the holiday which made him a bit apprehensive. I think it was all a bit new and we hadn't really got into it'* (B15; F54). As such each new place that is visited may contain challenges of adjustment. However, it is also possible that tourists may learn from their negative experiences making them 'wiser travellers' in the future. For example, one respondent recounted how, *'the very first time we went to Crete we were conned by a taxi driver... and since then we have hired a car each time we have gone'* (A4; M62). Having a negative experience of taxis led them to develop a 'survival strategy' for future trips. Presumably this could be applied to destinations outside Crete as well.

3.5. Remembering and passing on knowledge

3.5.1. Introduction

Rather than offering a precise representation of the past in which events and experiences remain unchanged over time, memory provides a less stable image of the past, as individuals transform or reconstruct past experiences. Over time certain features are

selectively forgotten, remembered or enhanced (Baddeley 1989; Loftus and Palmer 1982). The process of memory reconstruction may occur as individuals share their stories in discussion, potentially 'correcting' each other's memories of an experience and leading to the formation of a 'collective' or 'social' memory of past events (Halbwachs 1952; Wickham and Fentress 1992). People may also have a vested interest in what is recalled, selecting only those images that fit in or advance current attitudes and social status (Ross 1989). This section considers how the emphasis placed on learning experience may alter and over time be influenced by both social and personal contexts. Also, if memory is prompted, those aspects more frequently prompted may be reinforced disproportionately.

3.5.2. Sharing holiday memories with other people

Although episodes of our lives may be remembered with apparent spontaneity, memories generally require some form of trigger for recall to take place (Baddeley 1996). In the case of holiday memories social discourse appears to be one of the most common forms of memory prompt. Ninety-eight respondents said that they discussed aspects of their holiday with other people after their return home and thirty-three mentioned that conversations with people, outside the immediate family, prompted the recall of holiday memories. This typically involved another person mentioning a holiday experience, which triggered a memory or memories of a similar experience or experiences that had occurred during a past holiday taken by the listener. Alternatively, a country or topic was mentioned in conversation and the returned tourist used the experiences gained while on holiday to add to the conversation. In one case, the returning traveller belonged to a church group and was asked to give a talk about their impressions of a country visited on

holiday. Through the expression of holiday memories in social discourse such memories enter the social context.

The social recall of past tourists' holiday experiences may be constrained by the audience, recall of cultural details only taking place when the audience shares similar interests or has knowledge of the area visited (Desforges 2000). One woman explained, *'we discuss the holiday, particularly with our son and his family, and with our friends but we don't tell people much about the cultural aspects, apart from our son, because our friends are more beachy people, they would find the details boring'* (A5; F72).

Meanwhile, another respondent said, *'we discuss the holiday with the family when we return. The detail in which it is discussed will depend on the level of interest expressed by our friends. I would probably say less to my nieces and nephews, because they wouldn't appreciate what we had been doing so you give less detail, a different focus'* (A7; M43).

The fear of boring people, and consequently being considered a boring person, restrains accounts of holiday experiences and leads some people to answer questions about their holiday with the minimal response, unless they are asked for further information. In this manner, the returning tourist is not seen as imposing his or her holiday memories on an unwilling listener. In other cases a balanced relationship is established through the exchange of experiences, people who had been to a similar place 'comparing notes' on their experiences. The degree to which cultural details are recalled by the cultural tourist when discussing holiday memories will be dependent on the interests and style of holidays taken by the audience.

However, when a topic is raised in a conversation past tourists may draw upon their knowledge of other cultures to illustrate points that they wish to make. In such cases it is unlikely that the holiday itself will be mentioned, the source of the knowledge being conveyed in an authoritative manner, but left un-referenced. For example, one respondent explained, *'I often mention things I've experienced on holiday in a more general way... for example, today we were talking about how bad Edinburgh's public transport is and I was able to give examples of how they do it much better in Europe... but then I don't mention the holiday'* (A12; F50). In such cases it is possible that the information is abstracted from the holiday experience, and is therefore transformed from an episodic to a semantic memory.

Within the family unit memories are also shared and selectively recalled (Halbwachs 1992). Parents may see it as their duty to ensure that their children remember and learn something from their cultural holidays, encouraging children to keep a record of the holiday experiences and to discuss them after the return home. This may take the form of reliving the experience when photographs are developed (see chapter seven) or simply talking and reminiscing about places that have been visited together. One respondent explained, *'we don't collect a lot of souvenirs, so I try to compensate by talking to them (the children) about places that we have been to... it is important that they remember them... just to understand a bit more about Europe'* (A20; F32). In another case a father commented that his children had particularly enjoyed one experience and had drawn pictures of the castle that they had visited, so that they would remember it and be able to say something about it when they returned to school. They were also encouraged to write

diaries, '*like a school project*' (B22; M39). In this way parents encourage their children to learn things from cultural holidays, rather than the holiday being a time dedicated entirely to 'play'.

3.6. Conclusions

Having defined 'learning' in section 1.2 the chapter processed to show how the learning process, within the European cultural holiday, can be understood in terms of the deductive composite model as shown in figure 3.1. The nuances of this model, which are shown in figure 3.2, have been demonstrated in the text of this chapter.

The personal context influences the learning experience, detailed knowledge of a subject area enhancing the visiting experience, because the context is appreciated and the new details are more easily processed. Such experiences are also memorable because they have a personal meaning or relevance for the individual. On the other hand new experiences are remembered for their surprise value. Where memories of such experiences are processed recall of one experience will trigger details of other information classified in a similar fashion and will lead to a memory-chain being formed.

All cultural settings have the potential to be used and remembered for a number of different activities that take place within them. In the case of the cultural holiday two styles of cultural setting were identified, these being specific cultural attractions and general cultural settings. Although tourists showed evidence that learning took place in both contexts, learning was more focused at specific cultural attractions. This may be due

to a larger amount of interpretation available in these settings and an expectation to learn something in such places. It was also found that learning experiences may overlap between the two types of setting, things that have been learnt in a museum context being applied to the wider cultural environment. Therefore, visits to museums and similar attractions play an important role in aiding the learning process. However, if the access to cultural attractions is restricted, the attraction is of poor quality, or there is insufficient interpretation in a language understood by the tourist the learning process is hindered and may consequently be remembered in negative terms.

A number of benefits result from the learning experience, which gives them reason to be valued by past cultural tourists. Apart from enjoying the experience itself, tourists also develop a greater appreciation of cultures, both past and present. A full understanding of modern cultures may be limited due to the tourists' personal attitudes and experiences. Recall of the learning experience will be constrained if the audience shows little interest in cultural topics. Where interest in cultural details is not shown holiday memories may be 'reconstructed' in the narrative to highlight other areas of holiday experience.

The Cultural Holiday as a Search for ‘Authentic’ Experiences

4.1. Introduction

4.1.1. The composite model of remembered experience

This chapter compares the deductive model with the inductive model of authenticity, the latter derived from fifty interviews with couples who had been to Europe on a cultural holiday within the last three years. It aims to review the ‘deductive composite model of remembered experience’ in the context of tourists’ searches for authentic experiences. It is suggested that memories of authentic experiences may overlap to some extent with memories of learning experiences and memories of relaxation, the quest for authenticity leading individuals to learn about the cultures of the places they are visiting (see chapter three, sections 4.2 and 4.3) while the experience of doing so may provide a setting for relaxation (see chapter five, section 3.2) Authentic experiences may be remembered as being either beneficial or not depending on how they are perceived, and may be motivated by higher goals that drive the personal agenda. The remembered experience may be reconstructed to further concepts of self-identity and social status through reference to authenticity. Within this process, judgements of what is considered ‘authentic’ and ‘good’ play an important role. The ‘inductive composite model of the search for authentic experience’ (figure 4.2.) illustrates aspects of experience remembered by past cultural tourists. This is elaborated in the text below and used to test the application and relevance of the deductive model.

Central questions that this chapter aims to address are:

1. What constitutes an 'authentic' experience?
2. How do cultural tourists recognise what is 'authentic' and what is not?
3. Why are 'authentic' experiences sought?

4.1.2. Authenticity and authentic experiences

Prior to discussing how the search for 'authentic experiences' is remembered, it is necessary to discuss what is meant by 'authenticity' and why it is an issue of concern for some modern tourists.

It is generally accepted that concern for authenticity is a modern phenomenon, peculiar to Western society (MacCannell 1976; Handler 1986; Trilling 1972; Spooner 1986). The concern for what is 'real' and what is 'unreal' is tied to individualism and the concept that ultimately reality is located within the individual, 'no two individuals' experience of the product will be the same, just as no two people ever read the same novel' (Campbell 1987: 92). Because the individual is able to decide what is real and what is not, reality has become a fluid concept, with daydreaming and imagination becoming an important feature in the way we perceive reality (Campbell 1987). This was not the case in the medieval world where everything had a defined place and status that was ordered by God (Trilling 1972). The quest for authenticity is, therefore, a personal attempt to re-establish a sense of order and to create boundaries of what may be considered real.

The term 'authenticity' and the concept of 'authentic' experience is problematic due to its ambiguity (Wang 2000). In one sense everything that exists is 'authentic' because

everything that exists is 'real'. However, the principle of 'authenticity' is based on the assumption that things can appear, or claim to be, other than they 'really' are (Handler 1986, Trilling 1972). A distinction is therefore made between the 'authentic' and the 'inauthentic', the 'real' and the 'fake', the 'original' and the 'replica'. Despite, or because of this, grey areas exist such as the reconstruction of Tudor gardens (Samuel 1994). In such cases 'authenticity' is not established through the claim of being original, but rather through being a precise or accurate reconstruction or representation of the original.

Tourists interpret and judge places and objects by the makers or signs that represent them. Certain signs define the attractions and objects as being either authentic or inauthentic (MacCannell 1976; Chaney 1994). Although many of these signs may be socially agreed upon it is also possible that some signs may be read differently by individuals with different levels of experience, or with different expectations. Social class, educational attainment or cultural backgrounds are potentially pertinent varieties in this regard. Thus, a sign that suggests 'authenticity' to one person, may signal 'inauthentic' to another.

Cultural constructions play a crucial role in establishing whether something is 'authentic' or not. Authenticity usually implies that something is 'good', and better than that which is 'inauthentic'. However, what is deemed 'authentic' is determined by cultural values, which change over time and are affected by current tastes and fashions. For example, in Victorian times brick buildings were considered practical, but they were generally covered up and disguised as stone because that was considered more attractive. In the

nineteen-fifties such buildings were despised and replaced by apartment blocks. Now, brick terraces are prized by the middle-classes, and the brick re-exposed, by removing rendering, as a gauge of authenticity (Samuel 1994).

The influence of Romantic teachings concerning the good, true and beautiful, retain a strong influence on the perception of authenticity with 'idealised' images being preferred. However, this may create problems for the tourist who becomes aware of the widening gap between the constructed ideal and the experienced reality (Campbell 1987). While the idea of authenticity emerges from the concerns of modernity, 'authenticity' is often equated to the idea of traditional, unique, unspoilt cultures (Spooner 1986; Handler 1986). For this reason change, modernisation and globalisation are seen as the antithesis of authenticity. Places which have come to rely on tourism as a source of income, or which cannot be differentiated from other places, are not considered 'authentic'. Ironically, tourists' desires for authenticity have led to many places promoting their regional differences and inventing or re-establishing traditions, thus causing the 'real' lives of the modern culture to be hidden behind a tourist facade.

For the tourist seeking the 'authentic', insiders' experience of place, a further problem arises owing to the individual nature of experience (see chapter one, section 9). As experiences of events and places are influenced by past experiences, values and attitudes, no two people can have an identical experience of a place. A tourist may attempt to bridge the gap between tourist experience and local experience through the use of the local language, or by participating in the local way of life. However, the tourist's

knowledge that he or she will only be there for a few days makes the experience very different to living in a place permanently. Also shared language does not mean that concepts and beliefs are shared (Kohn 1994). Although cultural tourists attempt to gain insight into the past culture of a place and the current way of life, they remain outsiders because of the nature of the experience.

4.2. Personal Contexts

The deductive composite model suggests that the personal context influences the search for authentic experiences in combination with the social and physical contexts (see figure 4.1). Data from interviews with the past cultural tourists agree with the literature (MacCannell 1976; Chaney 1994) in that they indicate that the personal context may influence the type of activities or places that are considered to be authentic or inauthentic. The data suggest that there are two principal ways in which the personal context influences the search for 'authentic' experiences. Firstly, the visiting patterns of the cultural tourist influence the way in which involvement is sought and the degree to which it is achieved. Secondly, knowledge of the local language affects the extent to which cultural tourists can disguise themselves as locals and enter local places. This is shown in figure 4.2 and discussed below. Both factors are relevant to the arguments of Relph (1976) and Prentice (1996b) who discuss the range of authentic experience in terms of insider-outsider typologies (see chapter one, section 4).

4.2.1. The effect of visiting patterns

Visits to places in Europe by cultural tourists are motivated not only by a desire to see a particular place, but also by wider personal agendas. This may be the desire to 'collect'

DEDUCTIVE COMPOSITE MODEL OF
THE REMEMBERED AUTHENTIC EXPERIENCE

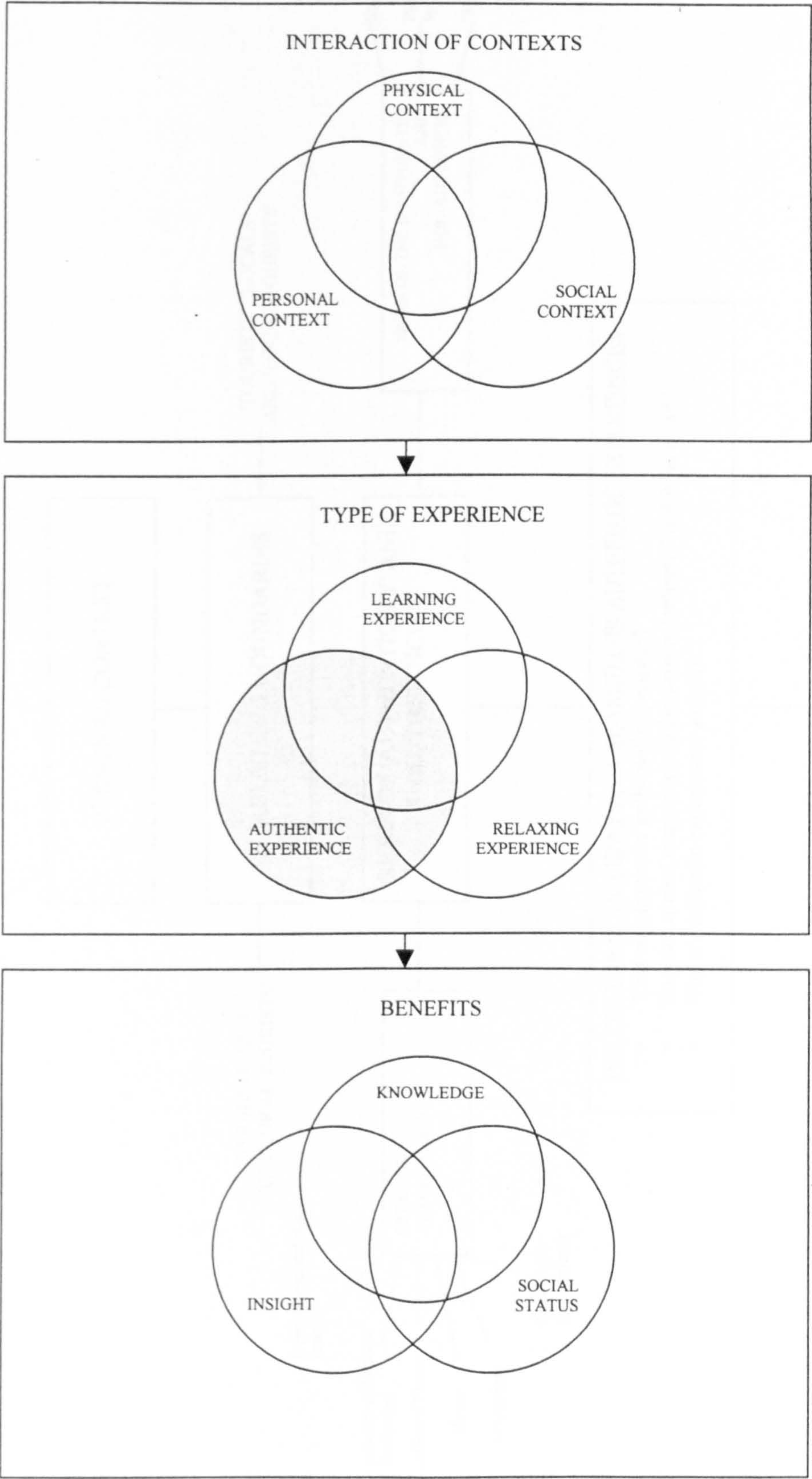


Figure 4.1

INDUCTIVE COMPOSITE MODEL OF THE REMEMBERED 'AUTHENTIC' EXPERIENCE

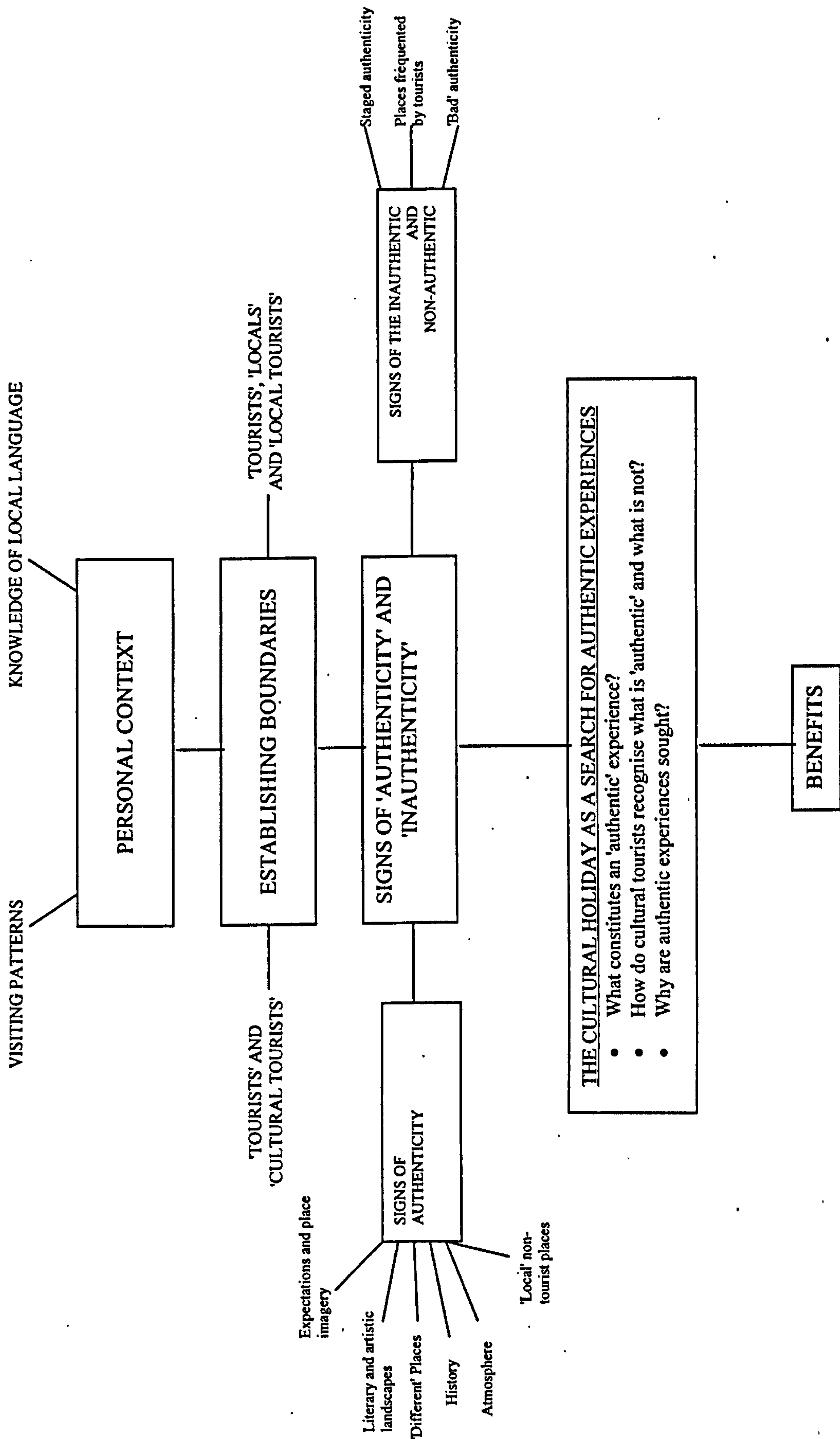


Figure 4.2

places, to develop an in-depth knowledge of a specific place, to visit family who reside abroad, or simply as a change from holidays in Scotland. As Pearce and Moscardo suggest, different people demand different levels of authenticity (1986) and these different agendas may affect both the way that a place is experienced and the opportunities available for obtaining 'authentic' experiences.

For the majority of cultural tourists interviewed (thirty-six couples out of fifty) visiting a country formed part of an overall aim to '*to see as much of the world as possible*' (A1; M60) or '*to see as many places as possible*' (B3; M71). This is a similar finding to the results of Poon's study (1993) in which seventy-four percent of respondents agreed with the statement 'I am always thinking of new places to visit'. For this reason most cultural tourists saw their holiday in a country as a one-off experience of that place. Of these, eleven couples sometimes returned to a country, but sought different regions to explore. It could be suggested that these couples, while participating in similar activities while on holiday, avoid the possible boredom of repeated experiences, by choosing to visit different places (Urry 1990; Sontag 1978). The supposition that such people are mindful of the places they visit, and purposeful in their intention to find new places (see chapter one, section 4) certainly seems to be confirmed by the respondents' expressed motivation for travel.

However, seeking an 'authentic' experience is difficult in such cases, as one-off visits to a place mean that a deep understanding of the local culture, and what it means to live there, cannot be achieved. The cultural tourist will be at most an "insight outsider" using

the place as a setting for learning about the culture as an outsider (Prentice 1996b). Given this restraint, these cultural tourists sought alternative means of establishing authenticity. A favourite means was to focus attention on a small area, and explore this in an in-depth manner. As well as visiting notable tourist attractions that comprised the 'essential' features of a place, these cultural tourists sought other signs of authenticity, such markers including eating 'local' food in a 'local' restaurant and speaking to 'local' people. Although necessarily brief, this visiting strategy provided the cultural tourists with an impression of the local culture that included 'authentic' elements of historical and modern life.

Nine couples showed a preference for returning to a specific area in order to develop a more in-depth experience of the place. This provided the opportunity to explore the area further, visit the lesser-known attractions and develop a more holistic view of the area's heritage. By visiting the same area in successive years greater familiarity was developed, and these cultural tourists began to develop friendships with local people. This shows that a small number of cultural tourists do experience endearment to place, perhaps as 'assured outsiders' (Prentice, Witt and Wydenbach 1994). Through this approach greater insight into the daily way of life was achieved. In two cases affinity with a place led to property being purchased and a 'second' home being established. In such cases the intimacy with the place and its people was developed further. The division between tourist (outsider) and local (insider) gradually become blurred, as having visited all the local places of interest on previous occasions these tourists turned their attention to the upkeep of their property, visiting garden centres, discussing plans with builders, or

learning local craft techniques. Visits were no longer an opportunity to see 'new' places, but rather provided an opportunity to catch up on the local news, and to re-establish friendships. Ultimately, this may have led to tourists moving to the area permanently, becoming, or attempting to become, 'empathetic insiders' (Relph 1976); one couple planned to move to their house in Spain and to settle there when they retired.

For five couples visits to European places were motivated by the opportunity to visit family who are temporarily based abroad, or to maintain ties with non-British family and friends. The family member was often seen as providing valuable insight into the local places, and acting as a guide to places that might have otherwise have been missed by a tourist unsure of the way around. In cases where family members were married to people of other nationalities, the holiday was also seen as an opportunity to experience 'every-day life' with the family. Although some cultural attractions were visited, the main emphasis was on the 'authentic' experience of doing 'typical' things with the family. As one respondent explained, *'it was special just being with the family, enjoying the hospitality, going out with the family, touring a little in the area... we had a day out to their hut in the country, which is something that Norwegian people like to do. They had only just got it and it was nice to be there discussing what the plans were'* (B5; F48). For individuals of European nationalities, returning to visit family still resident in their country of origin, the experience is different again. Some every-day customs may be taken for granted, but things that differ from life in Scotland are remembered. Also when spouses are shown areas of interest, insight into the place's history is sometimes shared. In some cases additional reference to the place's relevance to the individual is also made, so that the authenticity of the place is formed from both general and personal histories.

Given the varied nature of experiences within this segment of cultural tourists it might be suggested that insider-outsider typologies remain over simplified and that further nuances could be developed.

4.2.2. Knowledge of the local language

Knowledge of the local language may play a critical role in establishing an 'authentic' experience of place. Those tourists who were able to speak the local language could disguise themselves to some extent, being less obviously 'foreign tourists', or 'outsiders' reliant on English translations. Attempting to speak the local language is also seen as a matter of courtesy; *'there is nothing worse than going to a country and just speaking English'* (A9; F33). In return for attempting to speak in the local language *'locals give you more respect'* (A9; M33). Those who are fluent in the local language may gain access to non-tourist places, by requesting local recommendations of places to go to. One respondent, who spoke fluent Spanish, explained, *'being able to speak Spanish really helped, I find that it really enhances the experience of going on holiday. I always feel that I am getting more of a feel for exactly how people are and we're able to try less touristy type things. So, I like to go somewhere that I can speak the language and Madrid was perfect for that. We always get to go to different restaurants, ones that people recommend, rather than ones that are in the guide book, because I can always ask people to recommend one, or good shops to go to, or local events that aren't widely advertised. That sort of thing'* (B12; F30).

In contrast, tourists who lack knowledge of the local language may feel excluded from the ‘back’ regions of the communities they visit. As one respondent described, *‘we didn’t speak any Spanish. That was the one disadvantage, actually. It is not a place that caters for British tourists. I found that quite difficult. I am not used to that any more, we tend to go to German speaking places, and I do speak German. So, I’d forgotten what it is like to be in a place where you don’t speak a word of the language... the people were friendly... but it would have been so much nicer if we could have talked to them... and because the customs and everything were so different and we didn’t know the language, it was difficult finding out what was going on, to know where we could get food and what was available’* (B20; M51). Similarly, relying on a phrase book can be frustrating, *‘you can ask the question, but you can’t understand the answer’* (A11; F32). For this reason some respondents only visited countries if they felt that they, or a member of their group, had adequate knowledge of the local language. This enabled a more intimate experience of place and the ability to better disguise the fact that they were ‘outsiders’.

4.3. Establishing Boundaries

Interviews with past cultural tourists suggest that an initial stage of looking for authentic experiences is the establishment of boundaries between oneself and ‘others’ (compare also to chapter six, section 3.1). Cultural tourists appear to make two major distinctions. These are between ‘tourists’ and ‘cultural tourists’ and between cultural tourists and locals. These two areas are discussed in the sections below.

4.3.1. 'Tourists' and cultural tourists

Krippendorf describes the opposition between middle-class tourists and 'other' tourists succinctly:

A tourist is always another person. Educated people, people who can speak foreign languages and who have higher incomes and more experience in travelling can camouflage their tourist role. They feel they are individualists and believe they are superior to other people - although basically their behaviour is the same. 'That is something for tourists' they say, and naturally exclude themselves, pleased that they have seen through it. For them the word 'tourist' is an insult.

(Krippendorf 1987: 42)

The generic or 'mass' tourist is often derided and criticised (MacCannell 1976). Travel writers are at pains to point out their distance from the 'flocks' and 'droves' tourists who 'plague' the world, the words chosen to describe tourists conveying the idea that they contaminate their surroundings and move through places in a mindless manner (Dann 1999). It is perhaps unsurprising that individual tourists should try to make some distinction between themselves and 'other' tourists, as to accept the title would cause self loathing (MacCannell 1992). Cultural tourists, who are generally well educated, are more likely to speak foreign languages, have higher incomes and more travel experience, are more able to camouflage themselves as 'non-tourists' and delude themselves in the manner that Krippendorf describes. MacCannell suggests, that 'tourists' are demeaned because their behaviour is superficial. However, at the same time cultural tourists may fear that they are not being touristic enough because they may not be seeing things the way they 'ought' to be seen (1976). Interviews with past cultural tourists suggest that these concepts influence the way that cultural tourists remember their behaviour, and how 'authentic' experiences are perceived.

When visiting attractions that 'other' tourists also go to, differentiation is made through the description of different styles of visiting behaviours, thirty-nine respondents making this distinction. Most commonly respondents described themselves as being more considerate towards the host population and making a greater effort to be inconspicuous than 'other' tourists. Typically, a respondent recalled a visit to the church in Santiago, *'we went round in a break between services. It didn't seem right to walk round while the service was going on, although it didn't stop other people. That was another thing that sticks in my mind, people taking pictures while the service was going on, very strange'* (B6; M32). Another respondent commented, *"when in Rome do as the Romans do" when you arrive in a place you sort of try to blend into it. Groups obviously visiting, walking through the streets, making a lot of noise and being very critical of every thing they were seeing, looking at it from their own perspective, rather than thinking "why is it like this?" they are a real detraction'* (B8; M31). These respondents see themselves as having a code of conduct, whereby it was 'necessary to engage in certain kinds of behaviour which are deemed appropriate and not others' (Urry 1995). Urry discusses this idea in terms of rural tourism and the country code, but it would seem that, although informal, a similar 'code' exists amongst cultural tourists exploring Europe.

Waller and Lea (1999), found the presence of other tourists to be one of four factors by which the British measure authenticity, the fewer the number of other tourists at a destination, the greater the level of chance of establishing an authentic experience of place. Another important factor was independent travel, this being seen as providing a

more authentic experience than an organized tour would be able to offer. In agreement with this finding, thirteen respondents described themselves as being more independent and adventurous than 'other' tourists who avoided 'tourist places'. As one man explained, *'I like having a real look round as well; including the places that tourists don't go to.'* By doing this, and *'speaking to folks that have nothing to do with tourism'* (A4; M62) he felt that he gained an insight into the local culture. Similarly, a woman recalled the disappointment of a day trip called 'Norway in a nutshell'. She recalled, *'we went by boat, by train, and back on the boat and finished up on a bus. We were never out; we were on transport all the time. We weren't really seeing Norway, and that spoilt it for us'* (A10; F70). Urry (1997) comments that seeing and collecting sites is often ridiculed as 'mere' sight seeing, because it is so superficial. It is something that 'tourists' do. Cultural tourists want to do more than this. Dann (1999) suggests that the traveller, unlike the tourist, travels at leisure, while the tourist tries to see as much as possible in a short time span. The cultural tourist seems to place him or herself in the middle ground. Although aware of the holiday's time-constraints *'really seeing'* a place requires time to explore at leisure, to 'experience' it, the number of sites seen may therefore be sacrificed so that a more in-depth experience is achieved.

4.3.2. Tourists, locals and local tourists

Respondents also described themselves in contrast to local people. This distinction was used as a means of indicating where 'authentic' experiences were to be found. 'Tourist' places were generally considered to be 'inauthentic', while 'local' places generally provided 'authentic' experiences. However, certain grey areas were apparent in this

dichotomy. Cultural attractions, for example, were frequented by tourists but could be thought 'authentic' because of their history and connection with the past culture of place being visited (see this chapter, section 4.4. below) and some 'local' places were not considered 'authentic' because they were unpleasant (see this chapter, section 5.5. below) and local tourists were seen as neither insiders nor outsiders.

The basic division between locals and tourists was established in accordance with the insider-outsider typologies, locals being seen as insiders and tourists being outsiders. However, as certain insider-outsider typologies suggest (see Prentice 1996a; Relph 1976) different levels of insidedness or outsideness were identified. 'Tourists in general' were seen to represent one extreme. British tourists were easily recognised and categorised by respondents as being 'outsiders', and places that they frequented in large numbers were avoided where possible. Similarly, German tourists on package holidays in Tenerife were seen as out of place, and their presence was considered damaging to the 'authentic' nature of the area, because the German culture was in conflict with the 'local' Spanish culture. Cultural tourists, however, generally saw themselves as gaining greater insight into local cultures and managing to traverse some of the boundaries which separated them from the locals (see this chapter, section 3.2. above). Locals were placed at the other extreme being broadly defined as people who were resident in that area and who were living their daily lives. 'Locals' who had little contact with 'tourists' were seen as particularly 'authentic' (see this chapter, section 4.7. below).

'Local tourists' were more difficult to classify, representing another grey area. One respondent described how, *'In Santiago there were a lot of tourists, a lot of Spanish people seem to go on holiday to that area, and a lot of French come down, it's a relatively short journey. We hardly saw any other English-speaking people, so that was one of the attractions, which we were not continually bumping into our countrymen. There is not an awful lot of point in going on holiday where every one else does'* (B19; F42). In this case, tourists of other nationalities (Spanish and French) in their respective countries seem to have been tolerated because they are seen as geographically local to the area. Being non-British they do not disrupt the sense of being in a foreign place, and they had more in common with the local culture than other nationalities.

4.4. Signs of 'Authenticity'

Applying semiotics to the understanding of tourism, MacCannell (1976) suggested that signs or 'markers' define all sites. Markers convey the significance of an attraction to the tourist. The existence of markers, such as guidebooks, travelogues, and souvenirs, indicate to the tourist what is worth seeing, and by exclusion what can be missed. Therefore, the tourist does not 'see' Paris as a whole, but rather he or she sees the Eiffel Tower, The Louvre, Notre Dame, The Arch de Triumph and the French cafés. These elements form a set that is labelled 'Paris', but each element in turn requires its own symbolic marker. So, for example, the French café is defined by the presence of French customers and croissants. Menus that display cuisine identified with other countries are undifferentiated and therefore do not signal part of the 'authentic' experience (MacCannell 1976).

Certain ‘signs’ or markers appeared to be recognised by respondents as representing ‘authentic’ experiences of the places that are visited (see figure 4.2.). These included:

- Expectations and place imagery
- Literary and artistic landscapes
- ‘Different’ places and experiences
- History
- Atmosphere
- Local, non-tourist places and daily life

These signs of authenticity are discussed in turn below.

4.4.1. Expectations and Place Imagery

Waller and Lea mention the importance of ‘authenticity’ in marketing holidays to potential tourists. Their findings suggested that an important element of authenticity was that a place should conform to the stereotype of the country (1999). The current findings agreed with this research, six respondents remembering places that confirmed the tourists’ expectations of place and offered an accurate representation of the place image. For example, one woman said that for her the most memorable thing was *‘certainly the Gouronger Fjord, where we climbed in our camper this enormously high hill. The view was just spectacular. It was one of those things where, after you have seen two or three fjords you are not sure that you want to see another one. That was one of the last ones,*

and yet it was amazing, it felt just like Norway... On our way over to Bergen we went over some high ground, fairly south of Norway, there were these icebergs floating around. It was just amazing because it was June. It really brought home the fact that it was Norway I really liked that.' (B24; F44). From interviews with two other respondents it would appear that those holidaying in Norway purposefully combine viewing the natural features with cultural sorties, into the cities or places of historical interest. 'Where a place is depends upon certain expectations being met' (Chaney 1994); because Norway is promoted as a land of fjords, glaciers, and the midnight sun, seeing the 'real' Norway requires these physical elements to be seen, as the cultural aspects only offer a partial experience. It is a prime example of how physical landscapes feature in forming European identity (Lowenthal, 1993) and the importance of how a destination is promoted. As described above, seeing Gouronger fjord '*felt just like Norway*' (B24; F44), owing to the strong relationship between the image of the physical environment and the nation of Norway.

4.4.2. Literary and artistic landscapes

Some places derive their authenticity from reference to famous works of art or literature that illustrate or make reference to it (MacCannell 1976). Three respondents showed an appreciation for places because of their connection with famous works of art or literature. Elsinore Castle was referred to as '*Hamlet's castle*' (A7; M43) and appreciated not so much for its documented history, but rather the fact that it featured in one of Shakespeare's plays (B4; M62). In another case a woman who had visited 'Monet's garden' said, '*I just couldn't believe that I was standing there on Monet's bridge... that*

was the highlight really, walking through that garden and standing on that bridge that you see painted, absolutely beautiful' (A5; F72). The significance of the experience was deriving from the fact that the bridge and surrounding gardens had been portrayed in a famous works of art.

4.4.3. 'Different' places and experiences

Another factor in the formation of 'authenticity' is finding distinctive features of a place and its culture (Waller and Lea 1999). Unique, or at least 'different', environments to those experienced in Scotland or elsewhere signalled the 'authenticity' of a place for eight respondents. As discussed in chapter one section four, it is possible that these experiences make an impact on the memory because of their 'abnormality' (Baddeley 1996), but it is likely that the emotional impact that such experiences arouse is also important (Wright and Gaskell 1992). For one woman experiencing '*unusual food*' was a central feature remembered from her holiday. She explained that, '*there was a shop which specialised in all wild boar products and things and another with really weird shaped bottles and things, very original, very nice*' (A11; F32). It could be argued that the experience was remembered not only because of the unusual wares displayed in the shops, but also because of the enjoyment of the visit and consequently the pleasure remembering it.

Travel to 'different', or 'new' places appears to be a central motivation for travel for many cultural tourists (see chapter one, sections 2 and 5 and this chapter, section 2.1 above). 'Other' cultures and places are defined by, and appreciated for, their differences

to Scotland and Scottish culture. For example, one woman said that she particularly appreciated European cities for, *'the buzz of being somewhere different, a different culture'* (A3; F49) Another respondent said, of her trip to Florence, that one of the most special things she remembered was *'the sun on the bridge, the Ponte Vecchio. It was quite cold, but the sun was shining, and there was certainly one occasion where the sun and the river and the bridge were just quite something. It made you realise that you were in a different part of the world from normal, and it made it all worth-while'* (A8; F50). By implication, travelling to places that are too similar to Scotland was not thought 'worth-while', because it did not satisfy the desire to experience 'other' cultures or places. Graburn (1978) compares the holiday to a sacred journey, showing how people distinguish between holidays and work. Similarly, the respondent highlights that this is not her 'normal' territory and by contrast marks it as a special holiday place while also suggesting that this experience could not have been achieved without travel to a foreign place.

4.4.4. History

In some cases the authenticity of place is signalled to the cultural tourist through markers of the past. The lack of meaning present in modern life causes individuals to seek meaning in other cultures, or the past (MacCannell 1976). The significance of battlefields, ancient monuments, castles and similar tourist attractions is derived from their association with the past. This may be a general association with a period of history that conjures a set of images, such as the description of places as 'mediaeval'. Alternatively, the significance of a place may be linked with specific events that occurred

some time in the past. For example, one woman described how she and her family had walked *'by a very historical place, where one of the Spanish kings of the province was killed. He was assassinated... he was thrown from the top of the rock by his sister, her people'* (B14; F48). Such links are perhaps to be expected because of the manner in which authenticity is perceived and places advertised.

Historical artefacts or places, which are complete or intact, are particularly valued because they offer the cultural tourist a vivid picture of the past (MacCannell 1976; Fowler 1992). Twelve respondents described places they had visited which were appreciated because they were *'well preserved'*, *'complete'* or offered *'a particularly good example of'* some aspect of history. For example, one woman described her experience of visiting Santoríni, an archaeological site on an island north of Crete, by saying, *'it's complete... houses, streets and everything. There was an old harbour but I think that the water level has changed, it used to be lower down, but that was fascinating to me'* (A4; F60). In another case another female respondent who had visited Burgundy described *'the Hospice de Bonne, which is the old hospital, built in the sixteenth century, and which is absolutely complete. You can visit them. The beds are there, all the pewter dishes, everything. Absolutely wonderful'* (A23; F59). Physical artefacts provide a means of breaching the gap between past and present, as one man explained of a Sunday market, *'it was very interesting just to walk around and to see the things that the people were selling, which were antiques from the 19th century through to the period of Fascism. It was just interesting to see those things, to get a glimpse of the past'* (B2; M37). Places that offer *'complete'* examples have a stronger metonymic relationship with the past

culture. Historical sites may still be 'fragments' from which the tourist must reconstruct an image of the past, but having been partially reconstructed already the tourist may find it easier to fill in the missing details.

Eight respondents indicated a sense of nostalgia for a 'lost' past. Certain landscapes conjured romanticised images of the past. Although these landscapes existed in the present they are not associated with modern day culture, but were remembered as signs of the past (Fowler 1992). Seeing these places inspired individuals to 'imagine' what the past would have been like and in their imagination the past was 'recreated' or 'brought alive.' One respondent recalled, *'then we went on the canal trip which obviously took you right back, you could actually believe that you were there in a Rembrandt painting or Vermeer or whatever... it was so peaceful and so quiet and you could see the buildings and imagine what they would have been like and that changed my vision of the city completely and from then on I really began to enjoy it. But I think it was the sense of history... it came alive through the architecture and... because you were on a canal trip there was not much in the way of cars and away from the shop area'* (A3; F49). The images immortalised by artists in the past still exist in the present day, however, as the signs and activities associated with the modern day were hidden and the respondent was able to imagine that she had taken a trip into the past where such things did not yet exist.

Some places were romanticised through reference to features that signalled an association with the past. One man described how, *'in Corsica there is a citadel, a really fantastic citadel. You can walk up that. That was a very strong memory, thinking back on it now.'*

Taking the kids up there at night, looking out at the harbour, very, very picturesque, very nice, the kids enjoyed that. This citadel had a medieval town on top. There were medieval streets that you couldn't get a car down, really narrow. People were going up them in scooters and stuff, it was almost like a fairy tale' (B22; M39). In a number of instances the term 'medieval' was used to describe a vague pre-industrial past that was somehow better than the modern world. Respondents also made frequent mention of that 'atmosphere' of such places which was commonly described by respondents as having '*an old world charm*', '*being like a fairy tale*', '*like a Renaissance painting*' or as another respondent put it, '*it was like a picture out of the Book of Hours*' (A23; M59).

4.4.5. Atmosphere

Intangible aspects of place, such as 'atmosphere', can enhance the authenticity of a place for the cultural tourist, and may be important in establishing a degree of endearment to a place (Relph 1978). Twenty-two respondents mentioned the 'atmosphere' or 'feeling' of a place adding to their experience. The 'atmosphere' marks the unique feature of place that separates it from other places of a similar nature and may therefore help the cultural tourist to distinguish between different places when recalling past holidays. For example one woman, who described a visit to The Orangerie, said, '*there are two rooms that he [Monet] has just painted. And that's all there is, paintings all the way round... the lily ponds. You think two rooms of lily ponds it's not going to be all that wonderful; but you know it's atmospheric, really incredible and there were loads of people in it and I've never been in public rooms that were so quiet... as if folks were mesmerised.*' (A5; F72).

Due to the indefinable 'atmosphere' of the place, the visit to the gallery was transformed into a unique, almost mystical experience.

The 'mood' or 'feeling' may indicate to the cultural tourist the significance of a place, not necessarily apparent from its physical features. The potential of an experience within a place to evoke strong feelings and emotions plays an important role in such visits (Hirshman and Holbrook 1982). One respondent said of a visit to the abbey at Cluny, *'there is quite a lot of work being done in the surrounding area, but this particular part, the main cross crossing of the church, they had done nothing at all really. The floors were rough and sandy and stuff, but the sheer bareness of the thing gave it a tremendous feeling of the religious significance of the place, which had a very powerful impact on me'* (B25; M51). The religious significance conveyed in this experience contrasts with some visits to religious buildings described by other cultural tourists (see this chapter, section 5.3. below), in which the religious significance or 'atmosphere' has been destroyed by the obtrusive presence of other tourists. In another case, a woman described a place she and her husband had visited in France, *'it was in a field, it had been taken by the Germans... a house... and the strange feelings there. There were no birds. They were still digging, finding relics, old kitchen pots and pans. There were no flowers growing and it had an extremely eerie feel to it, a cruel feel. Just feeling very uncomfortable'* (B3; F73). Such cases suggest a level of mindfulness and involvement with place, which takes the cultural tourist beyond a state of 'existential' or 'objective' outsidership suggested by Relph. Although not being exactly 'behavioural insidership' the atmosphere of a place is

certainly recognised and there is a conscious appreciation of the place visited (Relph 1978).

The 'atmosphere' may be dependent on a number of conditions. The presence, or lack, of other people, the time of day, weather conditions and pervasive smells may all influence the creation of the 'atmosphere'. As these change so too may the mood or feel of a place; a place that seems artificial or touristy at one time may develop a more 'authentic' atmosphere at other times. Thus, the remembered 'authenticity' of a place depends on the past tourist's perception of a place at a specific time. For example, one woman described how she had walked *'though the medieval village early in the morning, before the tourists had arrived. We had come, and it was packed...but in the morning it was quiet and very beautiful. It was quite dressed up, but it didn't seem like that at that time, it felt quite medieval. And, there were some animals being taken through, so there were even some medieval smells!'* (B20; F50). Consequently, the perceived 'authenticity' of place may change over time, and even during a single visiting experience. This may cause an individual to experience different levels of endearment, or insidedness, through out the duration of a visit.

4.4.6. Local, 'non-tourist' places and daily life

The search for 'hidden' places is an aspect of discovering the authentic experience of place (Harkin, 1995). Tourists may realise that 'reality' is not to be found in the 'touristy' sectors of destinations but is to be discovered in the areas generally hidden from the tourist gaze, what Goffman referred to as the 'back' regions (Cohen 1988). Fifteen

respondents said that they looked for the '*hidden places*', those that were '*off the beaten track*' or '*off the tourist route*'. These are places where few tourists venture and are consequently unaffected by the 'negative' effect of tourism (also see this chapter, section 3.3. above). In a number of cases 'local' places were preferred because they provided opportunities for more intimate and 'authentic' experiences than were possible in the tourist centres. For example, one respondent described a place he had visited which '*seemed to be an unaffected area, particularly St. Jean de Loup. They had managed the balance between catering for tourists and still retaining the charm of the place. It was very authentic... I like to get to places where there aren't so many British people, the density of British people in relation to the local community, everything else flows from that... because we were so far south it just felt that we were part of the community as a visitor which was very nice. I liked that*' (A14; M43). The small number of foreign visitors present makes it possible to see oneself as a 'visitor', to whom certain obligations of hospitality exist as opposed to the greatly resented 'tourist'. Similarly, Waller and Lea (1999) found the main feature that defined authenticity was a lack of other tourists.

Watching people go about their daily lives offers cultural tourists the opportunity to observe the 'authentic' modern culture of a place. Six respondents commented that they found the uninvolved observation of daily life was a rewarding way to pass time. These respondents enjoyed sitting in a cafe or wandering through a place, where he or she was at liberty to '*watch the world go by*' (A16; F33) and generally observe daily life in progress. In one case a woman showed particular delight at being able to look '*into everybody's houses*' from the railway, and catching a glimpse of people going about their

private evening routines (B10; F55). In another case a man had visited the Ramblas, in the centre of Barcelona and said of his experience, *'all of that is absolutely fabulous, so as far as I am concerned that is it, a cultural experience in itself... It is full of art and architecture, but it also full of life. So all of these things are related, which is really nice. It is nice to see people spontaneously enjoying culture, their own culture, Catalan culture. And, they are very effusive people'* (B18; M53). In this case the observation of architecture and art is interspersed with the observation of the people who are there to observe or participate in it. Being unaware that they are being watched, the local people have no reason to put on a self-conscious act for the tourists or to screen their behaviour from the curious eyes. For this reason the behaviour is considered natural and thus 'authentic'.

Engagement with local people is also seen as being a sign of an authentic experience of place. Opportunities to talk to local people may be valued all the more because they are relatively rare. Friendships that develop with local people are particularly cherished because they indicate that the boundary between tourist and local has been breached, creating an increased sense of insidedness and encouraging endearment to place (Prentice Witt and Wydenbach 1994). For example, one respondent described how he and his wife *'went back to a place we went last year, and got such a welcome from the couple who own the house, it was lovely. They sort of flung their arms round us and made us feel so welcome - very nice. We had a similar sort of parting last year where the wife was just about in tears because we were going which was equally nice you know. But this year it was especially nice getting greeted like that. We've been to Crete three times and each*

time we have felt each time that we have been greatly welcomed by the Cretans, but to get a very specific and special welcome was a nice sort of thing' (A4; M62).

Participating in activities that are seen as 'typical' features of the local way of life signalled to other respondents that their experience had been 'authentic'. A commonly remembered activity was shopping in the places where the locals shop. Shops offer a bridge between the tourist world and that of the local because it was a place to which the tourist can gain relatively easy access. It may also create a temporary illusion of 'behavioural insidedness' (Relph 1978). One respondent illustrated this point by saying, *'I remember the bread shops added a special edge to a place that would have been special anyway for the sights and the views and things like that, but the whole experience of going into these little bread shops fairly early in the morning and ordering bread in French and the variety of bread that we just don't get here in Scotland, I think as an experience that sticks out in my mind as particularly poignant, typically French. Everyone else was getting their breakfast croissants and the rolls for lunch and that sort of thing' (B9; M36).* By sampling the local life-style a taste of the 'real' France was obtained. This is a token of authentic experience. Apart from this morning ritual, the tourist was not involved in the 'real' life of the local community in any way, and in fact appears to have spent the majority of the time seeing the tourist sites, therefore reverting to 'objective' or 'insight outsidersness' (Relph 1978; Prentice 1996b). However, full participation was not as important to this tourist as the perception of himself as participating in a part of the daily way of life, which created satisfaction and sense of authenticity. Going to local restaurants may offer a similar opportunity for engagement, a

factor that was mentioned by five respondents. In these examples ‘authentic’ is used to mean local specialities when referring to items on the menu. A further four respondents mentioned travelling on local transport systems as providing another way to experience local culture. One woman explained, *‘we go to places to meet people, to see what they do. Sometimes we travel on their transport, because if you go on public transport you meet people and you get the feel of the place’* (A10; F70).

Shops and restaurants and even local transport systems are generally easily accessible to tourists, but obtaining access to ‘back’ regions which other tourists would not be able to access is particularly valued. For example, one woman explained that staying with a local family was important to her because, *‘we got to see a side of the Czech Republic that other tourists would simply never see. For example, one day Yuri’s wife took us round the hospital where she worked. I imagine if we had been ordinary tourists trying to see that there would have been quite a fuss, it was really interesting’* (A24; F52). Although most cultural tourists would not go out of their way to see a hospital or office interior, while on holiday it is a means of entering the ‘local’ world. Being shown an individual’s place of work offers a personalised example of every day life in another country.

4.5. Signs of the inauthentic and the non-authentic

While signs that convey a sense of authenticity to the cultural tourist mark certain experiences (section four above; MacCannell 1976), other signs may suggest that places are ‘inauthentic’ or lack the desired features of authenticity. The interviews suggest that

the 'signs' or markers recognised by cultural tourists as being 'inauthentic' (see figure 4.2.) include staged authenticity, and places frequented by tourists. In addition to this cultural tourists may remember certain 'authentic' features of a place as being negative or unattractive. This is referred to here as 'bad authenticity'. These points are discussed below.

4.5.1. Staged authenticity

The task of seeking 'authentic' experiences is further complicated by the existence of attractions that act out 'authentic' experiences that would not be performed if it were not for the presence of the tourist (MacCannell 1976). However, some 'staged' events maintain their authenticity by suggesting that the tourist is watching activities that would be carried out whether or not tourists are present. The cultural tourist may appreciate these experiences because they offer a means of accessing 'back' regions, which would not otherwise be possible. For example, in an account of a family outing to a farm in the Loire Valley, the respondent stressed the fact that it was a '*working farm*' that they had seen. He recounted that there had been a '*display of sheep shearing*' and that you could buy '*goats cheese made on the farm that you could see being made*' (A2; M37). The farm workers consciously displayed their skills for the tourists to see, and the tourist orientation was further revealed through the provision of a restaurant, in which 'authentic' farm meals such as rabbit stew were served. Things were being produced for sale, but much of this may have been sold to the tourist market. However, the respondent

accepted the experience as 'authentic', because the activities that enacted fitted his image of the agricultural tradition.

The extent to which cultural tourists visit and enjoy staged attractions is difficult to gauge from the interviews. As the narrations are based on the respondent's memory and perception of the authentic it is possible that certain events were remembered as being authentic, although they were not. The nature of the experience may not be clear from the narratives alone. This was evident in one interview in which a respondent described a visit to a Sami restaurant, '*they were just like you see them in the pictures, with all the wealth of embroidery around them... we sat on reindeer skins round a fire that was kindled in the middle*' (B19; F42). A photograph undermined the seemingly apparently 'authentic' experience by showing an experience created and staged for the tourist market. Importantly, the respondent wanted to believe in the authenticity of her experience and thus remembered it in these terms despite contrary evidence.

However, it is possible that the educated and discerning tourist will recognise inauthentic performances. These may not be enjoyed as much as those that seem more 'authentic' and may be avoided. As respondents recounted fewer negative memories and did not list all the activities that were undertaken, this may explain why only six respondents described staged events. Of these four were clearly aware that the performances were staged. One respondent described a street market put on by the local tourist board to attract tourists to the area, '*in a way very enjoyable, but in a way very artificial. I both enjoyed and didn't enjoy that, there was always the sense of artificiality*' (B25; 51M).

The enjoyment derived from the activity of looking at the stalls was marred by the knowledge that it was not an 'authentic' or at least traditional event; it was a modern innovation which aimed to boost the town's economy. Similarly another respondent described a 'medieval' banquet, *'it was all very impressive, but it was the eerie Disneyfication of things, they had put all the paintings in and they were all done in the medieval style, of mediaeval events, and it was all done very nicely and yet it was late nineteenth century stuff and you began to wonder "is this genuine or is this a fake?" ... It was really quite good. They are not the only people who do that of course. If you go down to Holyrood Palace, here, they do exactly the same thing'* (B10; 61M). Although he enjoyed the experience he was also aware that it was 'fake'. The tourist's awareness of the issue is also revealed in his comment that this is a wide spread phenomenon, in which the 'fake' is used to make places 'come alive' or seem more 'real'.

4.5.2. Places frequented by tourists

The presence of non-local tourists in large numbers signals the inauthenticity of a place to many cultural tourists, and for this reason other tourists and tourist places are avoided where possible (Urry 1997; see this chapter, section 4.6. above). The interviews showed that the presence of large numbers of 'tourists' in a place was seen to destroy 'authentic' cultures and the unique atmosphere of places. Tourist based economies were not seen as 'authentic' ways of life, by cultural tourists, although this is the 'real' way of life in many places. Instead tourism is seen as destroying the 'authentic', 'traditional', and 'unique' culture of a place, a change that is considered undesirable. One respondent captured this sentiment as he described how he felt Sorrento had been spoilt by, *'the intrusion of*

tourists, and in particular English tourists, and the fact that what had clearly been a traditional Italian village and traditional Italian culture was now geared completely towards catering towards the needs of English tourists... that spoilt it for me. I'm sure if I was one of the millions of tourists who visit Sorrento I would have thought it ideal' (A9; M33). The provision of tourist orientated facilities, and the presence of other English tourists, means that the traditional elements of the village are hidden, inaccessible to the cultural tourist seeking 'authentic' experiences.

The presence of tourists was seen as particularly damaging to the 'authenticity' of churches and cathedrals, five respondents mentioning this factor. One woman commented *'we found the churches in Florence very disappointing... they didn't give me the feeling that they were a place where anyone worshipped God, they were for tourists to walk round'* (A8; F50). The concept that underlies this woman's disappointment is that places have a correct use, which should not be changed. Churches were designed as places to worship God, and the change of this use to attractions in which tourists admire the architecture, damages the essence of the place. Furthermore, where a sense of spirituality is sought the crowds and noise may destroy the experience. Consequently, attempts to maintain the authenticity of religious places in the face of the huge numbers of tourists that visit may be futile. One respondent described how he *'was in the Sistine chapel, and just the sheer numbers of people. And then every seven minutes someone would come out and go "shh" like that, which was quite... and then they would have an announcement in eight different languages because they felt it was a place of worship, but I thought no this is just a museum really now'* (B21; M33). Announcements to remind people that they are

in a place of worship ironically disrupt those who are there to do so, while also drawing attention to the fact that it has attracted tourists that are unaware, or unconcerned about the 'appropriate' use of the building. The inability to maintain the tranquil atmosphere deemed appropriate for religious meditation leads the respondent feeling that its original significance is lost and that it has been reduced to a museum; a place for tourists to visit. When the atmosphere of a place is disrupted it may be more difficult to establish insidedness (see this chapter, section 4.5 above). Thus, tourists undermine the authenticity that they are trying to seek, both for themselves and the host community (Boissevain, 1996).

4.5.3. 'Bad' authenticity

'Authenticity' is based on value judgements about worth, genuineness (MacCannell 1973). Certain features of places are 'real' because they are part of the modern culture of a place and do not claim to be other than they appear to be, but are not considered to be 'authentic' by cultural tourists. To past cultural tourists, describing something as 'authentic' implicitly suggested that it was 'good'. Features that were aesthetically unpleasant or socially undesirable were therefore not classified as 'authentic' by the interviewees. These features were also disliked because they symbolised negative aspects of the modern world in contrast with a nostalgic or 'pure' image of the past.

Six respondents made comments about 'bad' authenticity, three mentioning modern factories. These were not thought of in terms of being an 'authentic' part of the local

culture and economy. Instead, factories were described as being aesthetically unpleasant and to be avoided. Typically a respondent described, *'coming back we had to drive through the north of Spain to get the ferry back and came across huge areas of industrial Spain... as we turned off it was just like Grangemouth but bigger, looked like miles of big petrol chemical tanks and the smell. That aspect. And Bilbao was the same, a huge industrial port which wasn't what I wanted to go to, industrial Europe... if you're interested in industrial revolutions an industrial area might interest you but it's not my kind of holiday'* (B6; M32). The respondent recognises that such areas are part of Europe's industrial heritage, but is not interested in this aspect of 'culture'. Modern working factories don't have the same appeal as steam engines or industrial museums as they lack a nostalgic element.

The tourist seeking signs of 'traditional' culture may think that signs of modern life blight the landscape (Spooner 1986; Handler 1986). Cars parked in cobbled streets spoil potential photographs, being out of place in the picturesque landscape (Urry 1990). Similarly, a respondent described how *'there was one thing that caught our attention, which we did think spoilt it, all these wheely bins all over the place which detracted somewhat from the aesthetic appeal. I think we must have just coincided with the bin day, and they were all in position waiting to be collected, so they were quite prominent. That was a down side, minus points for that!'* (B14; M47). Signs of the modern culture damaged the illusion of being in a past place.

While the judgement of 'good' and 'bad' authenticity may be broadly accepted by a society (Waller and Lea 1999), personal perceptions and expectations also have an influence. Thus, a forty-nine year old respondent was horrified by the openness in which drugs were traded and used in Amsterdam. She saw this in direct opposition to the 'authentic' city painted by Rembrandt that for her represented the true (and good) spirit of Amsterdam (A3; F49). In contrast to this a younger respondent considered a visit to a 'hash cafe' and '*trying a bit of a hash cake*' (B11; F25) and a tour of the red-light district of equal importance to seeing Van Gogh's sunflowers in forming the overall experience of the 'real' Amsterdam.

4.6. The benefits of 'authenticity'

The deductive model of remembered experience suggests that cultural tourists seek 'authentic' experiences on holiday because such experiences produce a number of benefits (see figure 4.1.). The interviews with past cultural tourists suggest that several benefits are derived from finding 'authentic' experiences. These are briefly listed below.

- Signs that mark the individual nature of a place may arouse the interest of the tourist. When several places have been visited these signs mark the individual nature of each experience, enabling the past tourist to differentiate between places that have been visited. Reference to the unique features of each place may also serve to convey that the tourist is 'well travelled' which in turn may enhance their social status, or be necessary to maintain it (Spooner 1986; Graburn 1978).
- Signs of 'authentic' historical places provide the cultural tourist with a link to past events and may satisfy feelings of nostalgia. Certain landscapes or experiences that the tourist associates with the past (such as scenes that are reminiscent of Rembrandt's paintings or smells which are thought to be mediaeval) are also remembered as providing a link between the past and the present. Having one's imagination stirred by such experiences may be considered rewarding in itself.
- Seeing certain places that obtain their authenticity from a connection with a piece of art or literature, such as Monet's bridge, may produce a sense of fulfilment or satisfaction at having seen the 'real' thing. Recalling the visiting experience may in turn, enhance the experience of seeing reproduced images of site in the future.
- Seeing 'local' people go about their daily lives provides cultural tourists with an insight into foreign cultures.

- Visiting 'local' places or engaging with 'local' people provides a means of transcending the boundaries between 'tourist' and 'local'. By entering 'local' places a person may be treated as a 'visitor' or 'guest' rather than as 'tourist'. Being welcomed by a community is pleasing to the cultural tourist because it increases their insight into a place. It also enhances their sense of self-esteem, and social status, through the disassociation of themselves as tourists.

4.7. Conclusions

Having discussed how 'authenticity' and 'authentic' experience may be defined the chapter processed to show how the search for 'authentic' experiences, within the European cultural holiday, can be understood in terms of the deductive composite model as shown in figure 4.1. The nuances of this model are shown in figure 4.2 and have been demonstrated in the text of this chapter. The examples discussed in the chapter showed that the search for authentic experience is an important element of the cultural holiday.

As shown in the inductive model, the quest for 'authentic' experiences is influenced by the tourists' personal contexts and personal agendas. For many cultural tourists the experience of a European country is formed from a single visit and is seen in terms of a long-term plan to see as many places as possible, although such visits are necessarily superficial in many aspects the cultural tourist is able to employ a number of strategies to increase their perceived level of insidedness. For example, an ability to speak the local language provides some tourists with a means of gaining a more 'authentic' experience of place, by seeking local recommendations and views. A smaller number of cultural

tourists return to place several times and gradually develop a more in-depth relationship with the place over time, thus gradually altering the activities in which they participate and their level of endearment. For the cultural tourist who has family links with the area or who is visiting friends, access to 'back' regions may be easier as family and friends act as personal guides and offer hospitality on a personal level. For a limited number of cultural tourists, their experience may be more akin to the insiders' view of a place because, having grown up in the area, they are visiting they are aware of the local meanings. Cultural tourists' expectations and place image will inform the search for 'authentic' markers and the recognition of the 'inauthentic'.

The quest for authentic experience is shaped by the creation of boundaries that distinguish between the cultural tourist and 'others'. Past cultural tourists demonstrate the nature of their 'authentic' holiday experiences by creating two types of boundaries. Cultural tourists distinguish between themselves and 'other tourists', by referring to both aspects of visiting behaviour and places that are visited. A dichotomy of 'tourist' and 'local' is also present, this division signalling where authentic experiences are to be found. However, certain 'grey' areas exist between these two points, as not all tourist places are considered 'inauthentic', and not all local places are seen as 'authentic'.

Cultural tourists see certain signs as representing 'authentic' experiences of place. These are selected in preference to other places and experiences that are not marked in this manner. Expectations and place image influence the signs of 'authenticity' that were sought by tourists, seeing physical features such as fjords forming an important part of

the 'authentic' experience of Norway, while for visitors to France eating local foods such as croissants was important. Features of a place that were thought to be different, or unique to that place, marked authenticity, as did signs of history. Other places obtain their authenticity because of connections with famous works of art or literature. In many cases, 'atmosphere' of a place, although a changeable and intangible aspect, was seen to contribute to the authenticity of places. It was noted that appreciation of a place's 'atmosphere' may be an important factor in distinguishing between places, while also reflecting the level of endearment that has been achieved. Cultural tourists considered signs of 'local' places and daily life to form part of their authentic experience of a place, many respondents either observing local people or attempting to participate in 'typical' every-day behaviours at some point during the holiday. As the cultural tourist may participate in different types of behaviour during the holiday the style of insidedness or outsidedness that is experienced may alter.

Certain experiences and places are not considered 'authentic'. Some tourists may not be aware of staged performances, or prefer to ignore signs of inauthenticity. However, knowledge, suspicion and prior experience of cultural attractions appear to make the majority of cultural tourists aware of 'staged' authenticity, and potentially critical of its 'inauthenticity'. Tourism or a large presence of other tourists is seen as damaging to the 'authentic' nature of a place, and some respondents were aware of this irony. Other places were not recognised as 'authentic' because authenticity implies that it is 'good', or 'pure', consequently, places that are aesthetically displeasing or deemed to be socially unacceptable are not considered 'authentic'.

The search for 'authentic' experiences is motivated by the benefits that are derived from such experiences. Finding 'authentic' places or participating in 'authentic' experiences may produce feelings of satisfaction. Some experiences may inspire the tourist's imagination, while others may increase self-esteem. Finding 'authentic' experiences of place may increase the tourist's insight into other cultures. Due to the moral value placed on 'authenticity' in modern western society, returning cultural tourists may increase their social status by reconstructing accounts of their holidays that emphasise their authentic experiences.

The Cultural Holiday as a Relaxing Experience

5.1. Introduction

5.1.1. The composite model of remembered experience

This chapter compares the deductive model with an inductive model of relaxation derived from a content analysis of interviews with couples that had visited Europe on a cultural holiday within the last three years. The ‘deductive composite model of remembered experience’ will be reviewed in the context of relaxing during cultural holidays. The model (see figure 5.1.) proposes that personal, physical and social contexts interact to form different types of experience, in this case a relaxing experience. The personal context is of particular relevance in this process as it affects both the choice of, and reaction to, holiday experiences. It is suggested that memories of relaxation may also overlap to some extent with memories of learning and authentic experience. Experiences may be remembered as being beneficial or not, and may be reconstructed to further concepts of self-identity and social status through reference to relaxation. The ‘inductive composite model of remembered relaxing experience’ (figure 5.2) illustrates aspects of experience remembered by past cultural tourists. This is elaborated in the text below and used to test the application and relevance of the deductive model.

Central questions that this chapter aims to address are:

1. What is considered a relaxing experience?
2. What helps or hinders relaxation?
3. Why is relaxation a valued experience?

DEDUCTIVE COMPOSITE MODEL OF
THE REMEMBERED RELAXING EXPERIENCE

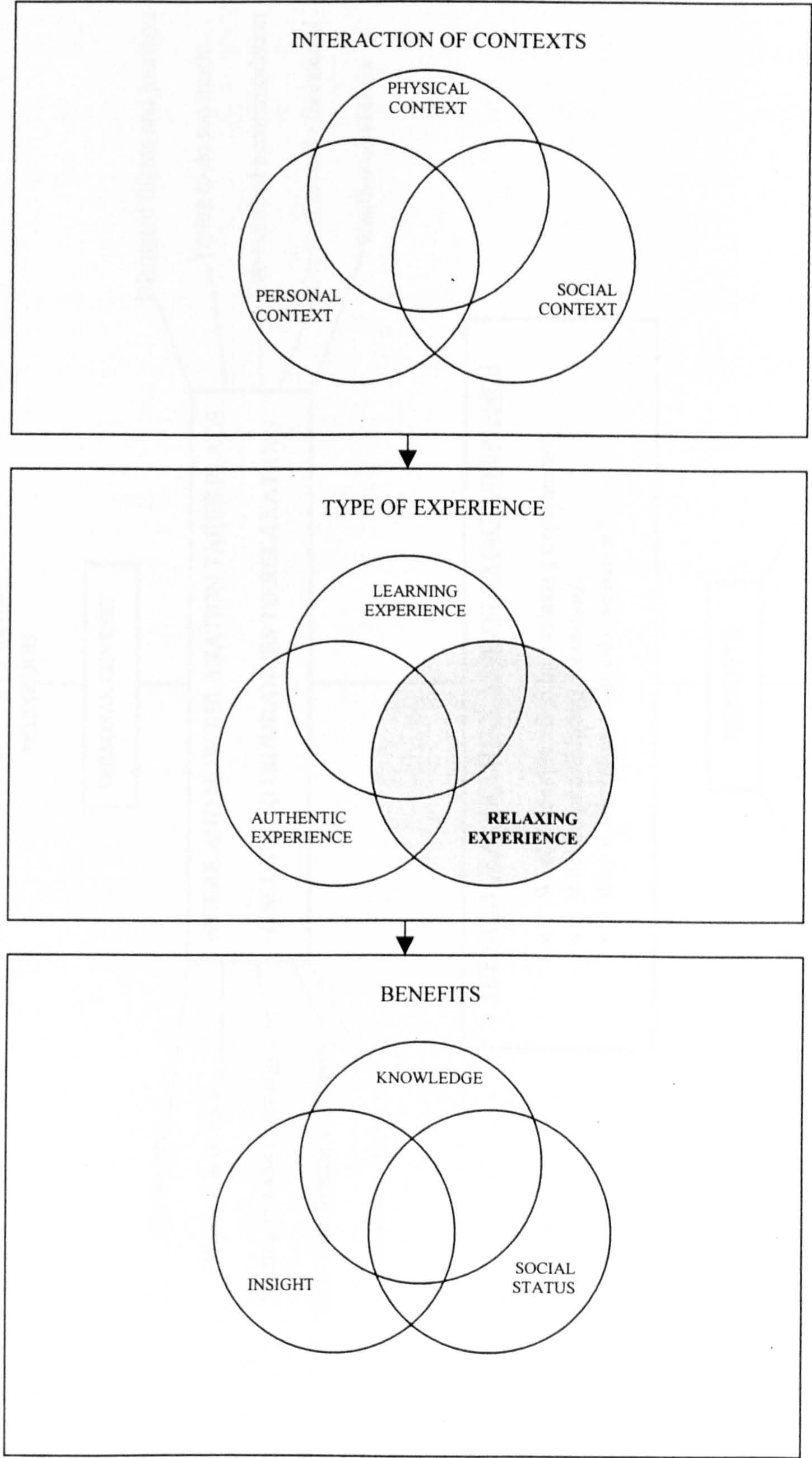


Figure 5.1

INDUCTIVE COMPOSITE MODEL OF THE REMEMBERED RELAXING EXPERIENCES

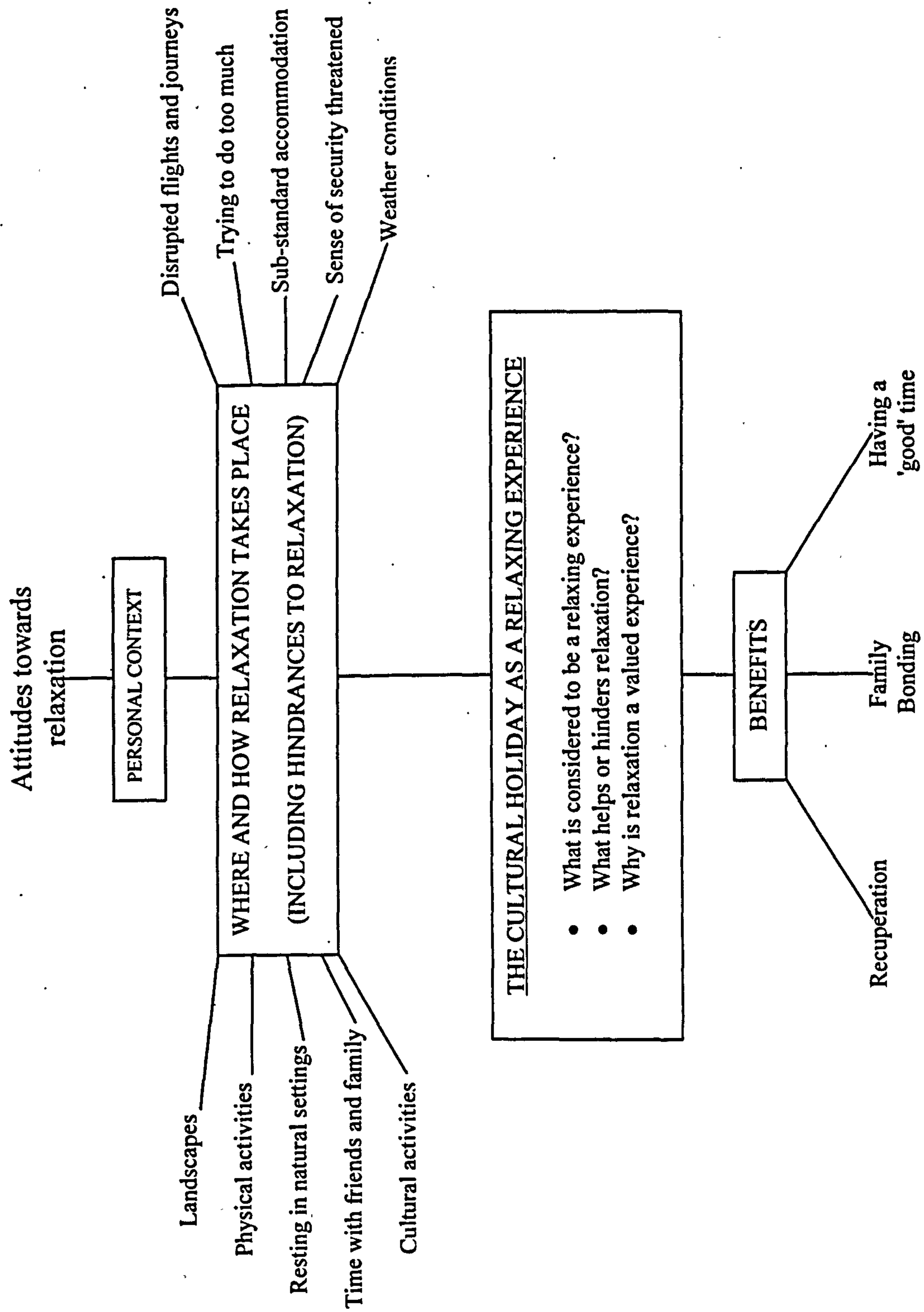


Figure 5.2

5.1.2. Holidays and relaxation

In the previous two chapters the focus has been on how past cultural tourists remember their experiences of foreign cultures. However, these experiences were formed while on 'holiday' and the holiday context has the potential to affect the emphasis placed on experiences that are recalled.

The term 'holiday' conjures a number of meanings and images. The holiday is commonly seen in opposition to time spent at work (Graburn 1978) and as an extended period of recreation that is often spent away from home (Oxford English Dictionary 1983). The American term 'vacation', places an emphasis on departure, and the idea of travel from one's usual place of residence. The word 'recreation', on the other hand, suggests that the holiday provides the tourist with the possibility of restoring or transforming the self through rest, relaxation and enjoying pleasurable activities (Graburn 1978). In the case of European cultural holidays both of these meanings are present. The holiday is framed by the journey from a 'home' in Edinburgh to a destination in mainland Europe, and back again. While away the cultural tourist engages in a number of activities that, in addition to other benefits, offer the possibility for relaxation and recuperation.

In addition to visiting heritage attractions or observing the cultural practices of a place, the cultural tourist may also spend a proportion of the holiday engaged in other leisure activities (Bord Fáilte 1988; Bywater 1993). Some cultural tourists may incorporate elements of the beach holiday into the holiday itinerary, while some others engage in sports activities. The holiday may also offer an opportunity to engage in social activities such as visiting friends and relatives, or simply spending additional time with one's

partner and children. In some cases relaxation may be considered as a separate component from the cultural element of the holiday in which the tourist is engaged with seeing and learning new things. However, in other cases the act of visiting cultural attractions may be seen as relaxing in itself, and considered to be an extension of leisure activities enjoyed at home.

Despite the desire for rest and relaxation the experience of visiting a foreign country, navigating through an unfamiliar place, coping with a foreign language and other such difficulties can be quite stressful for the tourist (Krippendorf 1987; Ryan 1995). However, the extent to which stressful events are remembered and recalled may be reduced as individuals reconstruct a memory of the holiday as being a 'wonderful' experience. Also, the sense of achievement gained through having managed to navigate through a place may, in itself, be refreshing.

5.2. Personal contexts

5.2.1. Introduction

The deductive composite model suggests that the personal context influences the relaxing experience in combination with the social and physical context (see figure 5.1). Data from interviews with past cultural tourists indicate that the personal context may influence the type of activities or places that are considered to be relaxing. The personal context may also affect the response to and memory of those incidents that hinder the relaxation process (see figure 5.2).

5.2.2. The effect of personal contexts on attitudes towards relaxation

An individual's hobbies, interests, and family influence the activities that tourists choose to participate in while on holiday and that they consider to be relaxing. As such the holiday may be considered to be an extension of home based leisure activities (Poon 1993). However, this contrast's with the perception of many past tourists' that holidays are separate from every day life see chapter six, section 4.2.

One segment of cultural tourists balances site-seeing and cultural experiences with a 'family holiday'. This may involve spending time on a beach or river-bank allowing children to play while the adults read novels and enjoy the sun. Alternatively, a couple of days may be spent visiting a child-orientated attraction such as Disneyland Paris. Nine couples mentioned the importance of balancing 'cultural' and 'family' activities, these tending to be couples with children under the age of twelve. For these tourists the holiday also provides a valuable period of family bonding.

For another segment, physical activities may be incorporated into the holiday agenda, with six couples mentioning this as an important aspect. For one couple (A2; M37/ F37) their holiday in Brittany provided a good opportunity for cycling that was both a favourite pursuit and a means of visiting various cultural attractions. For the five other couples cultural activities were interspersed with days spent hill walking. Physical activities such as walking and cycling may provide these tourists with a means of mentally 'switching off' while the body remains active. In such cases physical activities

seem to be remembered as complementing or balancing cultural activities, both combining to form a relaxing holiday experience.

For a minority of respondents (three out of one hundred) an interest in the natural world may cause incidents with that focus to be remembered as a '*highlight*' of the holiday (B10; F55). For example, one respondent had particularly enjoyed the mountains of Northern Spain '*right up in the mountains you got away from people and we were seeing the wildlife for the first time. I am quite interested in bird watching so that was our first sight of griffin vultures and that sort of thing. That was pretty good.*' (B20; M51).

The interviews also showed that hobbies and interests were often incorporated into cultural holidays. Eleven couples explicitly mentioned that their personal interests in archaeology, history or gardening had caused them to visit certain sites. For these tourists, and those interested in physical activities, 'relaxing' on a beach would be considered frustrating and '*boring*' (A3; F49) because they prefer to be '*doing things*' (A5; F72) and visiting cultural attractions may therefore be considered a relaxing activity in itself. For relaxation to be achieved a balance between boredom and over stimulation needs to be achieved (Pearce and Caltabiano 1983) and, for this segment of cultural tourists, cultural settings, such as monasteries or galleries, are considered to be relaxing environments offering the necessary amount of stimulation. An interest in a favourite pass-time may be pursued or the tourist may sit and meditate on the cultural achievements, while the tranquil atmosphere is 'absorbed'. Cultural settings may also

provide a focus for daydreaming about, or imaging the past, a mental activity that may be considered relaxing.

An individual's expectations of the holiday and degree of travel experience are likely to affect their attitude towards, and response to, incidents that prevent or disrupt relaxation. Experienced travellers may be aware of potential problems and have solutions to deal with them, so that such incidents, if they occur, have minor impact. However, for a less experienced traveller, or one who has different expectations of a place, negative experiences may create a greater impact and be more vividly remembered.

In addition to this, individual attitudes towards disappointments may play an important role in the memory of negative experiences. While some individuals appeared to be dismissive of most problems, saying simply that '*these things happen*' or, '*one should not dwell on such things*', others were prepared to recall events in detail. While some people had transformed negative experiences into amusing anecdotes, others appeared to relive the misery of experiences such as unremitting rain, or delayed flights.

5.2.3. Conclusions

The personal context may affect the cultural tourists' perception of, and response to, relaxing experiences. While for one person relaxation may mean physical activities such as cycling or hill walking, another may recall time spent relaxing by a pool with the family. For many cultural tourists the activities of visiting cultural attractions will be considered relaxing in themselves, either providing the opportunity for quiet reflection or

as a setting for other activities such as picnics. Where incidents occur that disrupt the process of relaxation, attitudes, temperament or experience will affect the way in which the situation is both dealt with and remembered.

5.3. Where and how relaxation takes place

5.3.1. Introduction

The deductive composite model of relaxing experience suggests that the ‘activity’ of relaxation takes place in cultural settings, otherwise referred to as physical contexts (see figure 5.1.). Data from interviews with past cultural tourists (see figure 5.2.) indicates that several factors may promote relaxation, or where relaxation is a primary concern. These included:

- Cultural attractions and activities
- Landscapes
- Resting in ‘natural’ places
- Accommodation
- Time spent with family and friends

These points are discussed in turn below.

5.3.2. Cultural attractions and activities

Although cultural attractions may be visited to learn something about the local culture, or to gain an authentic experience of place (see chapters three and four) some cultural tourists find visiting attractions a relaxing activity in itself. Cathedrals and art galleries

are visited because they form a central part of the cultural holiday itinerary but they are also remembered for the tranquil atmosphere that they offer and their calming effect. Seven respondents described cultural attractions in these terms. Of these, one described visiting a monastery in Barcelona, which was remembered for having an atmosphere that was very different to the rest of the city. *'It was just such a lovely peaceful location with the square and presumably where the nuns had been, little tiny cells... the whole experience was so wonderfully peaceful. I just really enjoyed it. It was so lovely, the ambience, every thing was lovely... a quiet place, not in the hurly burly of the centre'* (A1; F45). Meanwhile her husband remembered the galleries in Madrid as *'a place of repose'* (A1; M60).

Cultural attractions may also be remembered for provide a physical setting in which to relax (Falk and Dierking 1992; Masberg and Silverman 1993). For one mother with daughters aged fourteen and sixteen, a visit to the amphitheatre in France was motivated by the desire to show, and implicitly educate, her children about the cultural history of the place, but was remembered primarily for the setting to a pleasant family evening that it provided. She described how, *'one night we went to this place called Sante. It is a beautiful place, it has got a cathedral and it has got an amphitheatre. It really suited the kids well, and I believe it is important that they see some things, however long their faces are... It was just really lovely. We just sat round the amphitheatre, and we chatted and told stories and it was just very, very nice. It was a lovely area and in fact the kids have talked a lot about going back to Sante, they really enjoyed that night'* (A21; F43). The

cultural setting provided the backdrop for social interaction and the place is remembered fondly because of the strong associations with the family experience of sharing stories.

Other places, such as restaurants and cafés, offer an opportunity to take a break from ‘high’ culture, or to experience the local culture in a relaxed manner, watching the daily life of people in a leisurely manner. While six respondents mentioned visits to cafés in terms of gaining an authentic experience of place (see chapter four, section 4.7) a further two respondents described cafés as locations in which one could relax. A respondent who had visited Nice explained, *‘the nicest thing was just sitting out and having coffee in a café... just watching the world go by, nice quiet moments... it was very relaxed, we were just pottering around’* (A16; F33). Similarly, a café in Malmo, Sweden *‘was definitely calming’* (A14; M47).

5.3.3. Landscapes

As has been noted already, (chapter three, section 3.3) Brown (1993) classified landscapes according to the degree of human impact upon them. At one end of the spectrum he identified ‘natural’ landscape as having negligible human impact. In ascending order of impact, managed landscapes or harvested lands, cultivated landscapes with agriculture, suburban, and urban landscapes followed. The latter three can be referred to as ‘cultural’ landscapes, because they have been noticeably modified. However, in one sense all landscapes are ‘cultural’, in that responses to them are determined by values and expectations (Brown 1993; Lowenthal 1993) and few, if any,

European landscapes have not been modified by human activity. Interviews with past cultural tourists suggested that certain types of landscape are considered particularly appropriate for relaxation and recuperation. Certain landscapes were remembered as being inspirational, offering an opportunity for meditation; relaxing because of their aesthetic qualities, or relaxing because they offered a perfect setting or backdrop for relaxing activities.

Ten respondents remembered mountain landscapes and fjords in a predominantly visual manner. An important dimension of the experience was that this was a solitary experience (Urry 1995), other tourists being absent. These experiences were remembered for the sense of awe that they aroused, the landscape being seen as offering an opportunity for quiet reflection, leaving the individual feeling inspired by the 'natural' world. One respondent described her memory of, *'the sheer majesty of the Lofoten Islands, rising sheer and perpendicular, and majestic, and fantastically beautiful, out of the sea, the bird life and the sheer beauty of Norway. The Germans talk about the Rhine, I've been on the Rhine, and seen the Lorelei, but every fjord has twenty Lorelei. It is so majestic, it is awe-inspiring'* (A19; F68). The beauty and grandeur of such scenes have an inspirational effect that leave the tourists feeling rejuvenated.

Three respondents remembered rural landscapes as being relaxing because they were aesthetically pleasing, or picturesque. For example, describing the village in which she and her family had stayed, a female respondent said, *'I loved the village that we stayed in. It was very small. It was way up in the hilltops. It was just so picturesque. It was miles*

up. People from the cities came for trips out at the weekends. You could see for miles around, olive groves and vineyards and things. It was just really beautiful. And, there was a big villa just up from the village, and we walked up this tree-lined avenue to get there where the hotel and the swimming pool and every thing were. It was just so nice, and the scenery in Tuscany was so refreshing, relaxing' (A11; F32). Attention is drawn to the fact that this is an agricultural setting, through the reference to the surrounding land usage. It is also seen as a location for '*relaxing*' away from the stresses of the city, both by the tourist and the Italian city dwellers. As such the countryside is perceived as a venue that restores the urban individual (Urry 1990).

The image of a tranquil, rural idyll was also apparent in two other accounts. One of these respondents described how, '*the campsite in central France was just idyllic. There were sunflower fields all around and there was a farmyard, and the campsite itself was in an orchard. We drank the home-pressed cider and there the people were really, really friendly and would bring eggs for us in the morning from the geese. There was a typically French baker, not a large range, but wonderfully crunchy baguettes. It was just the setting of the place, such wonderful and beautiful countryside, with lovely smells*' (A20; F32). In this case the farm and surrounding area provides the 'ideal' setting for eating and drinking local produce, and is one of several components that combine to form the relaxing experience.

Attractive landscapes also offer the ideal backdrop for activities that are essentially relaxing. This may be walking through a village in Tuscany to the swimming pool, or

eating baguettes in the south of France, or as below playing golf near the Pyrenees, *‘which is as near magic as you can get. It is on a high plateau and it looks across a valley... to the Pyrenees, which even at that time of year are snow capped. It is just stunning... it is surrounded by medieval villages and there is this beautiful, manicured golf course in the middle of rolling countryside with stunning views in all directions. As the sun sets behind the Pyrenees, you get six thousand different shades of orange, of all the receding mountain ranges, disappearing over the horizon. It is absolutely fabulous’* (B18; M53). In such cases the beautiful setting enhances the relaxing activity.

5.3.4. Resting in natural settings

As mentioned above in this chapter, section 2.2, one segment of respondents appreciated beaches and rivers as places for their children to play in, or as locations suited to activities such as collecting shells or fishing. These experiences were distinct from the ‘typical’ beach experience in that they were privately experienced by the family unit and provided an interlude of nature’s tranquillity within a culturally focused holiday.

An important feature of these places was that they were enjoyed privately. Other people were avoided or seen as detracting from the experience (compare to chapter four, section 5.2). For one respondent who stayed in Corsica with her young family a particularly memorable incident was when *‘one of the guides told us about the mountain river-pools which weren’t mentioned in the tourist guides. We hired a car and went up and it was fantastic. It was a huge river pool but there was nobody there, there was absolutely*

nobody there! It was wonderful... it was probably the most refreshing thing that we did on that holiday' (B22; F38). Her husband added, *'they were really nice rock pools... but ours! You had to tramp down the road for two or three hundred yards and that was enough to put most people off. You couldn't even see the road so you felt very private and you could please yourself'* (B22; M39).

Such experiences were sometimes described in similar terms to those used by people who had experienced peaceful atmospheres in cathedrals, monasteries or galleries (see this chapter, section 3.2. above) and appeared to offer a similar experience. As such the experience may not only be restful, but also offer an opportunity for solitary and peaceful inspiration. One respondent recalled, *'we had spent the morning visiting a number of the local sites, including a small chapel, which was in the process of being restored so it was full of dust and very noisy. It felt as if we were rushing from one thing to another but in the afternoon we found a stretch of river and had a picnic there. Then my husband spent a couple of hours fishing and I just sat on the bank writing postcards. It was just so peaceful, there were one or two other people fishing, but they weren't so close by, and just the opportunity to take breath, to stop and relax... little things... the light on the water and trees on the far bank, sounds, time to think about it all'* (B9; F35). Such places offer a tranquillity that is restorative, an opportunity to review and appreciate the holiday, and an oasis in what might otherwise seem to be a 'busy' holiday.

5.3.5. Accommodation

Five respondents recalled quality accommodation as providing an attractive setting in which to relax, for being comfortable and for providing an opportunity for holiday indulgences. The settings of holiday accommodation appeared to play an important part in how the holiday was remembered, the position and view 'setting the scene' for a relaxing period. As one respondent described, *'a really clear memory was the situation where we were staying. The house was very beautifully placed (showing a picture of the house, close to the sea, but with a back drop of mountains)... there was always a breeze and there was a balcony round about so you were sheltered from the sun but you have got this marvellous view, so it was a beautiful position.'* (A4; F60). Hotels provide for the tourist's basic needs of shelter and food, but a hotel may stand out in the memory if the standard of accommodation, or service is particularly high. Escaping from household chores and eating good food may be seen as a means to relax and an opportunity for self-indulgence. As one woman said *'the beautiful hotel that we were staying in will always remain with us... it was very comfortable and the food, oh! The food was just fabulous, I put on so much weight'* (A10; F70). The holiday is remembered as a period in which luxuries were enjoyed.

5.3.6. Time with friends and family

Social relationships form an important part of the visiting experience at specific cultural attractions (Falk and Deirking 1992; and Masberg and Silverman 1996). Pearce (1993) looked at the experience of visitors in the theme park context and found that family relationships were the most highly valued feature of a day out for family groups. A

similar trend seems to be present in cultural holidays, with twelve parents placing particular value on time spent together as a family.

The reaction of children to new experiences seems to be something remembered with great clarity by a number of parents. One father, whose son was two years old at the time, said that the most memorable experience of the holiday was *'playing with our son, having time to mess about and do things differently. Just to see his reaction to a foreign country and all things foreign. The most vivid memory I have is of our son chasing pigeons in the park. He was going at just the pace where the pigeons would run away, but not take off. Absolutely hilarious, perfect equilibrium, very funny. I have a very strong visual image of that'* (A16; M33). The holiday provided the father with additional time to spend with his young son, and was valued highly because of this. Other parents were delighted by their children's pleasure, for example one father appreciated the sunsets because of the *'children's reactions'* (A11; M35) and a mother remembered a puppet show because *'the kids loved it'* (A22; F45).

Working mothers expressed pleasure at the additional time they had to spend with their children and at the change from the usual routines. But, in addition to this, three mothers remembered enjoying periods of exploring places without their children. While the father of children aged five and six found a day at Disneyland with his children one of the best holiday moments their mother said, *'The best thing for me was [staying] in Harfleur, when we, or rather I, visited the Bayeux tapestry. One of the things that made it special was that it was only me that went to see it. I didn't have the children trailing round, and I*

was given a four hour slot to wander around the town, see the tapestry and get a feel for it. *That was really nice*' (A20; F32). Another mother, who had teenage children, explained that for her it was *'the whole experience of getting away from my jobs and all the things that go with it is special both at work and home. I think for a lot of wives and mothers, that in itself is the joy.'* (B19; F42). As mothers tend to be the primary care givers at home they appear to be more likely than their husbands to appreciate a break from their role as parents.

In six cases respondents remembered incidents that were particularly special because they had been shared with their partner. In two of these cases the holiday provided an opportunity to celebrate personal events. For example, a young married woman said that for her the most memorable holiday experience was a night spent *'in a gorgeous little hotel, it was quite quiet and out of the way...we were sort of treating it as our anniversary treat to ourselves, which wasn't until a few weeks later, but we weren't going to be together on our anniversary. The most memorable part of it was the meal that only cost 111 Francs, each, eleven pounds including the wine. It was exquisite, you know, beautiful white tablecloth down to the floor, wonderful service, and absolutely delicious and very beautiful. I think that was one of the most special things'* (B21; F31). At first the experience seems to be remembered for the fact that the meal offers such good value but the event really stands out in the respondent's memory because of the connection with a celebration of a special date. Even though the celebration took place on a substitute date it did not detract from its significance but was appreciated because it offered a better,

more relaxing and romantic opportunity for the celebration which could be relived in the form of a fond memory on the date itself.

Twelve respondents mentioned friends and family as a primary motive for visiting a particular country or region. Although only four people interviewed had a foreign partner, and chose to visit a particular country because of this, a further three had relatives living abroad that influenced their choice of destination. In a study of endearment behaviour of tourists visiting Gower, Prentice et al (1994) found that 'for the segment with local contacts, endearment may be to friends and relatives rather than to the destination area itself.' This also appears to be true for some tourists who take European cultural holidays. One respondent who was French, married to a Scottish woman, explained that, '*It was a good feeling to see the family, and to see the children playing together. That is one of the main attractions for going, and I sometimes wonder whether we would continue to go if something happened to the family there*' (A22; M39). Five people mentioned the importance of time spent visiting friends, and one recounted, '*the two things I remember most about Germany, was meeting our friends, one of whom I haven't met for quite a long time... the holiday wouldn't have been so good if we hadn't met up with them. It was a main reason for going and it was special.*' (A17; F51). In cases such as this mention was frequently made of meals eaten together and the opportunity to talk together, catching up on personal news. The social context became prominent because meeting with these friends was a rare and therefore special event.

5.4. Hindrances to relaxation

5.4.1. Introduction

Hindrances to relaxation are likely to be seen as negative, both because relaxation is seen as a positive experience and because obstacles to relaxation prevent the obtaining of higher benefits derived from relaxation (see figure 5.2). In the current sample, respondents cited disrupted flights and journeys; trying to do too much; substandard accommodation; the sense of security being threatened and poor weather conditions as factors that interfered with relaxation. These points are discussed below.

5.4.2. Disrupted flights and journeys

Interviews with past cultural tourists showed that disruptions to flights and journey could create strongly negative feelings, which were remembered vividly for a long period of time. It may be that such incidents are remembered because of their emotional impact (Wright and Gaskell, 1992). Three respondents complained that delayed flight had caused them to have less time to explore their chosen destination, while having to wait at the airport produced a sense of frustration, the antithesis of a relaxing experience (Moscardo and Pearce 1986). In one case poor facilities made waiting uncomfortable and therefore exacerbated the situation.

Eight respondents recalled experiences of getting lost in a negative light, as such incidents aroused feelings of frustration, annoyance or disappointment at not finding a place that they had hoped to visit. As one respondent explained *'we got really lost one day, there are so many little roads and some of the sign posts are really confusing, they seem to point left or right and really they are telling you to go straight on. Anyway we*

must have gone round in circles for an hour or so... just really frustrating... tempers got a bit fraught and that always spoils things' (B9; F35). Feelings of antagonism between family members (mentioned by a further three respondents) may be viewed as particularly negative due to the emphasis on having a 'good' time together (see this chapter, section 5.4) and family bonding (see this chapter, section 5.3).

5.4.3. Trying to do too much

Fatigue is recognised in literature on museum interpretation, visitors becoming less attentive to exhibits as the visit progresses (Moscardo 1996). Interviews with past cultural tourists suggest that the same pattern is present when a number of museums, or attractions, are visited consecutively. Initial enthusiasm is high during the first section of the day, when the visitor is feeling fresh, but towards the end of the day the visitor's attention is less focused and concern for food and other aspects of bodily maintenance increases. A similar pattern may also be apparent in the holiday as a whole, periods of rest being required before a second cycle of visiting can be enjoyed. However, the time constraints of a holiday and the desire to see as much as possible, in the limited space of time, may mean that individuals sacrifice relaxation for cultural viewing.

Three respondents commented on how the temptation to try to see 'everything' can lead to over-saturation and a sense of weariness. One woman described *'one day when Yuri was showing us round and he was just trying to make us do too much. He had such an enthusiasm for every thing but it got to the point where I just had to have something to eat and to sit down for a while, which didn't really fit into his plans. But we managed to*

find somewhere, and I felt a lot better for it' (A24; F52). Although a holiday may be spoilt because one attempts to do *'too much'*, tourists who do not plan to return to a place are likely to attempt to see a large number of sites. Having done *'too much'*, another respondent admitted that they *'wouldn't go back because I felt that I've seen it'*. While this strategy appears to accomplish the visiting agenda it may be at the cost of *'needing a holiday'* on the return home, in order to recover.

5.4.4. Sub-standard accommodation

Fourteen respondents complained about substandard accommodation that had spoilt their enjoyment of a place. Moscardo and Pearce (1986) suggest that basic needs such as adequate shelter must be satisfied before one can begin to appreciate or enjoy other experiences. With regards to accommodation, respondents expected places to be clean, quiet, and have adequate facilities. When these pre-requisites are lacking a negative opinion of the place was formed and remembered. As relaxation is an important aspect of the holiday experience for some cultural tourists, poor accommodation can ruin an entire holiday, eclipsing pleasant experiences at cultural attractions.

One of the most frequent complaints about accommodation was that the place was run down or unclean. Seven respondents mentioned this factor, referring to a range of accommodation types including hotels, rented cottages and campsites. One respondent commented that their hotel had been *'not much better than a Salvation Army doss house... it was pretty ghastly'* (A15; F41) while another respondent summarised that their cottage had been a *'bit of a dump really'* (A25; F36).

A further four people complained that the accommodation was dirty or unsanitary. One man described why in detail, *'there were a couple of occasions in Portugal when we went to villas which frankly didn't have the standard of cleanliness that I would have expected... It is very off putting if you go to the toilet and there are flies flying around, and it smells. Particularly one time in Portugal we ended up having to move accommodation, because every time you emptied the bath this stuff would come up through the drains. That was just too much to take'* (A11; M35). As such the accommodation failed to provide a suitable environment for relaxation to take place.

Three respondents listed several features their accommodation as being below expectation. In one of these cases the state of the hotel appeared to be symbolic of the entire holiday, *'there can only be one thing, and that was Italy, it was awful! The hotel was awful, principally the hotel was awful, it was badly described in so much as I think it must have shot the photographs with a wide-angle lens at five o'clock in the morning, but they forgot to mention that there was a main road outside and the traffic went all night. The air conditioning didn't work, so you had to open the windows and then you heard all the traffic... just everything'* (A10; M73). Again, the accommodation failed to provide an appropriate setting for recuperation, the noise of the road preventing a restful night's sleep. Similarly a couple, who had stayed at a campsite, were disturbed by loud music during the night and resented the disruption of their sleep because it made them less eager to get up early to explore the local area.

5.4.5. Sense of security threatened

Viewing the holiday as a relaxing experience requires that the cultural tourist feels secure and safe at the destination (Moscardo and Pearce 1986); feeling threatened or insecure in surroundings is in direct opposition to this. A significant proportion of tourists appear to have felt some sense of insecurity at some stage during a recent cultural holiday, although the causes of this and the degree to which such experiences affected the overall holiday experience were varied.

In four cases tourists felt threatened by local people under the influence of drugs or alcohol. One woman recalled, *'In Amsterdam certainly the drugs problem was quite extreme. My daughter, who was sixteen at the time, was with us and she actually felt threatened, when she was on her own, people were beginning to approach her. There were one or two people who were absolutely out of their minds, coming up asking for money. I think that quite threatening... even on the canal side there are people taking drugs'* (A3; F49). In two other cases touting for business and begging for money was remembered as being threatening, because of the aggressive manner in which it was done. Similarly, officious personnel demanding additional payment of fares caused two respondents to feel vulnerable and angered by the encounter.

Six respondents remembered the unease associated with not being able to communicate with local people. Not knowing the local language made one couple feel *'embarrassed and inhibited'* (A8; M52). For another couple not knowing the local language made exploration of the area awkward and unpleasant (A20; F32/ M32). For four other

respondents these feelings were translated into a sense of vulnerability and fear of being 'ripped off' by local people. In such cases language was seen as a skill with which to negotiate the threatening experiences of a new place, which one may or may not possess.

In six cases theft of possessions, or the fear of theft, produced feelings of insecurity and left tourists feeling less able to relax and enjoy themselves as well as the potential or actual disruption of holiday plans. This is revealed in the following example where one man described the effect of having a theft from their car while in France. *'My credit-cards, passport and wallet were stolen which put a bit of a dampener on the holiday for a few days, while the whole thing got sorted out... They were very good sending out emergency credit cards but during that time we also moved campsites so the whole thing was quite traumatic. We had this interim period of three or four days where we weren't quite sure if the money we had was going to last if the card didn't turn up'* (A8; M52).

Five respondents remembered feeling concern for their personal physical safety. In one case involvement in a road accident made the respondent question the wisdom of travelling abroad, *'it wasn't the fault of the place, but it certainly spoilt the holiday. The holidays we do in France are driving holidays; and it made me think that driving as a tourist you are driving for no particular reason, and adding to the chance of that sort of thing happening'* (A21; M44). Despite this reflection the family continued to take driving holidays abroad. In his book, *Consuming Places* (1995), Urry poses the question 'Why do people take the risks associated with travel?' and suggests that one reason is that people are used to taking risks in every day life, and therefore are less conscious of the risks

involved. Being an expected part of travel, they are not remembered as remarkable happenings. However, it could be argued that tourists are aware of the risks involved, but perceive that the benefits to be gained outweigh such disadvantages. A third explanation is that such risks are infrequent. In all likelihood, it is actually a combination of these factors.

5.4.6. Weather conditions

As mentioned in chapter one, section 3, cultural tourism is discussed in the literature as a sustainable form of tourism that is less dependent on fine weather than holidays that are centred on beaches or physical activities (Economic and Social Committee 1990; Davidson 1992; Richards 1996). While this is true, the importance that Scottish tourists place on fine weather while on holiday should not be undermined. Some cultural tourists actively avoid travelling during the peak of summer because excessive temperatures are not enjoyed and make visiting attractions a more tiring affair. However, interviews with past cultural tourists demonstrate that they do appreciate clear sunny days, moderate temperatures and bright weather providing optimal visiting conditions.

Five respondents described how rain restricted activities, including visits to cultural sites. This is especially true of visits to ruined castles, amphitheatres and other open-air attractions. Heavy rainfall may curtail a visit or make it physically uncomfortable. One respondent recalled how her family had visited a particular castle. Initially they waited in the car hoping that rain would abate, when it didn't they '*made a run for it*' but '*got soaked through*'. Cloud obscured the advertised view from the top of the castle tour,

which was a disappointment, and further exploration of the ruins was prevented because *'it was no fun'*. A visit to a second attraction the following day was cancelled because *'there wasn't any point'* so overall rain *'restricted what we could do a bit'* (B5, F48).

The disappointment at experiencing bad weather is likely to be more pronounced when it occurs during the main holiday. One respondent explained *'on all our holidays, in hindsight, it is all to do with bad weather, the times when we haven't had a good time, the days or series of days when the weather is bad. It really pulls you down. The feeling is that you have saved up emotionally for these two weeks, this short burst of activity, if you have two or three days of poor weather on the trot, it really gets you down, particularly with the kids, because you can't really do very much with them'* (B22; M39). It is not only the poor weather that affects the experience but also the anticipation of 'good' weather, and the psychological effect that poor weather has on the holidaymaker.

5.4.7. Conclusions

Although relaxation may take several different forms, the examples above show the importance of relaxing experiences to cultural tourist by illustrating the negative responses to incidents that prevent relaxation from taking place. These types of incidents may be remembered more vividly than occasions of uninterrupted relaxation, as they interfere with a basic component of the holiday experience and consequently inspire strong negative emotions (Wright and Gaskell 1992). Where relaxation proceeds unhindered, it may be taken for granted by many cultural tourists, allowing attention to be focused on other areas of experience such as the fulfilment of learning objectives and the

development of self-esteem (Moscardo and Pearce 1986). While relaxation was associated with positive attributes such as recuperation, comfort, meditation, beauty, enjoyment, tranquillity and calm, incidents that opposed this were associated with feelings of tension, hostility, discomfort, fatigue, frustration and worry. Data from the interviews with past cultural tourists showed that five types of incident were likely to detract from the process of relaxation. These were disrupted journeys and flights, trying to do too much, substandard accommodation, the sense of security being threatened, disputes and poor weather conditions.

5.5. Reconstruction of experience and benefits of relaxation

5.5.1. Introduction

The deductive model of remembered experience suggests that cultural tourists attempt to relax on holiday because relaxation produces a number of benefits (see figure 5.1.). While one reason for seeking relaxing experiences may be that they are considered enjoyable, other benefits may include recuperation, family bonding and, increasing social status and sense of well being through the reconstruction of having a 'good' time. These points are discussed below.

5.5.2. Recuperation

Graburn (1978) and Cohen (1979) suggest that holiday memories act as a sustaining force when an individual returns to work (see literature review, section five). As these memories fade it becomes necessary to take another holiday. This theory is based on the idea that holidays are an escape from work and every day life, rather than an extension of

it. Poon (1993) disagrees with this stance, suggesting that 'new' tourism is an extension of every day interests, rather than being separate. While, cultural tourism does seem to fit the criteria of 'new' tourism (see chapter one section two) interviews with past cultural tourists suggest that the cultural holiday also has the potential to create a sense of well-being or restoration of self. This may occur in two different ways. Firstly, activities or places experienced on holiday may be remembered as being relaxing, and be appreciated for that reason. Secondly, the recollection of the holiday may be considered a relaxing process in itself and one that may sustain the individual until the next holiday is taken. Consequently, it appears that cultural tourists do still perceive there to be a separation between everyday work-time and holiday-time.

Tourists, including cultural tourists, seek relaxing experiences for the sense of recuperation that is produced. Underlying this aim is the assumption that the 'holiday' offers an opportunity for recuperation that would not be available when at home, and especially not when working. As one respondent explained, '*we chose to go off-peak because cities are easier to cope with when the temperatures are lower, and it was after some professional exams, a rest...*'(A24; M47). The holiday was 'reward' after a particularly arduous period at work, providing a recuperative break before returning to work again.

Often the word 'holiday' is used as a synonym for 'rest'. The presumption that the holiday was recuperative is taken for granted. One respondent, when asked why she had decided to go to Europe on holiday, replied simply, '*we went to visit a friend in Brittany,*

but it was also for a holiday'. When asked what she meant by 'holiday' she looked puzzled for a moment and then said, *'enjoyment, a rest, a break from reality'* (B11; 25F). The fact that 'holiday' is presumed to mean a rest, or a change from everyday life, may explain why relatively few respondents mentioned this as a motive for taking a cultural 'holiday'; instead the 'cultural' aspect was seen as requiring explanation. Other respondents seemed to view culture and relaxation to be of equal importance. As one respondent said, *'we went to the Auvergne to explore a different part of France and to have a peaceful time'* (B9; F35) or as another respondent put it *'to just sort of chill out and relax, look at the monasteries and cathedrals, and to go to Disneyland Paris'* (B17; M41).

As suggested by the literature the memory of a good holiday may sustain individuals through a period of work (Graburn 1978; Cohen 1979). When asked whether they thought that memories of past holidays were important, twenty-eight respondents said that they were because of the sustaining nature of such memories. For example, one respondent explained, *'the memory of a holiday is important because it keeps you going for the rest of the year'* (A21; F43). Another respondent expressed the same idea when she said, *'it is important to remember holidays because they are an important time to relax and wind down, the memories are important as a pool to dip into during time at work'* (B18; F48). Memories appear to be of particular importance during the winter, or when working as they provide a form of escapism from daily life (Similarly, individuals may escape from reality when photographs viewed or rediscovered, see chapter seven, section 4.2). Another respondent explained, *'I don't remember every detail, but I think it*

is great to have rooms in the memory that you can escape back into, wander back through, which I suppose might colour. It is an oasis when you are in the business of now... something to draw on in the middle of a dank February day, when you have got eighteen scripts to mark' (B21; M33). As such the holiday memory is seen as a valuable resource that can be harvested to provide continued mental sustenance throughout the year. Or, as another respondent said, 'I think it is very easy when you get back to just get sucked into the pace of life again...I think it is really good to look back and reflect, it can be very therapeutic if you have had a good holiday' (B22; F38). Such comments suggest that the holiday maintains its rejuvenating properties if experiences are 'relived' through memory.

5.5.3. Family bonding

For couples with children, relaxing with their family may not only be enjoyable in itself but may also be valued as being an important time for family bonding. As one respondent explained, 'the memory of the holiday is fairly important because holidays are very important to us, as a family... because of the amount of time my husband spends working...holidays are an important time together. We make an effort in choosing holidays that are memorable and an effort to remember them. As a family we talk about them and my husband takes lots of photos. We look back and remember them. We talk about how much we enjoyed particular places, especially one walking holiday we had in Switzerland, which we all loved. Everything was perfect' (B17; F45). The family gathers together during the holiday and afterwards the remembering of the experience provides a further opportunity for family bonding as memories and stories of the past are shared

between family members. Certain memories may be selected over others and used to embellish the family history, reinforcing the image the family likes to portray to itself and others (Halbwachs 1992). Importantly, the positive attributes of the holiday are emphasized, forming a positive image of the family unit and its happiness.

Similarly, a father recalled the importance of remembering holidays as his children were growing up, and the importance of holidays as a sustaining force in a marriage when both partners lead busy lives. *'You go back through time and there are millions of fabulous memories of things that have happened, and all the albums of the children in all sorts of funny places, looking tanned and happy. I think we always used to regard holidays as the one time when we really got to know the children, and to some extent reminded ourselves about each other, leading very busy lives you kind of lose touch. I am sure that the highest level of recreation is being able to spend time doing something that you both like to do, but without having to think about rushing somewhere else. That is always very relaxing'* (B18; M53).

5.5.4. Having a 'good' time

A necessary part of portraying past holidays as times of enjoyment, relaxation and family unity is the repression or playing down of incidences that contradict that picture. Several respondents indicated that negative memories were purposefully forgotten, saying *'you block the worst things out don't you...'* (B21; F31) or *'I can't remember anything bad about it, and I'm not likely to because those things are just shoved aside. I try to enjoy the experience of the holiday. I tend not to retain a memory of things that were not good'*

(B13; M61). This does not mean that nothing negative occurred on the holiday, but rather appears to be due to the attitude that only 'good' holiday memories should be remembered. One respondent concluded a detailed account of a negative memory in an apologetic tone, saying '*you have to try to forget these things don't you*' (A15; M42) as if it was a duty to forget the bad parts of the holiday and to recall only those that were positive. An alternative strategy is to recall the negative memories in terms of their humorous potential, a tactic that three respondents admitted to. As one of them explained, holiday '*disasters*' often made the best dinner stories. In such cases the negative memories are made socially acceptable through irony, or by transforming the negative emotions into laughter.

One reason for this attitude appears to be that the portrayal of 'having a good time' enhances, or at least retains, the status of the returned tourist. By having had a 'good' time he or she proves him or herself to be a capable traveller able to make the best of every place that he or she has visited, and being experienced enough to avoid, or deal with, any potential problems. Krippendorf (1987) commented that tourists say that they had a good time because having worked for it, they deserved to enjoy it, revealing an underlying principle that work should be rewarded by holidays. A second factor is that everybody else appears to have a 'good' time and therefore the returning tourist plays the role of the happy holiday-maker because, 'to admit that the holiday was less than wonderful would be tantamount to social failure. Thus disappointments are treated differently to those in every day life: they are suppressed or made light of' (Krippendorf 1987: 62). This may not be limited to holidays. However, these are not facts that most

people readily admit to, that would be even more unthinkable. Only one respondent was blatant enough to say that for him the main purpose of telling other people about your holiday was to convey to them, *'what a tremendously good time you had'* (A9; M36). Another respondent would not tell other people about any marital disputes, or incidents that were particularly embarrassing to one member of the family, through a sense of loyalty (A3; M48). This code of conduct protects both the status of the individuals and that of the family unit. However, this principle presumably extends beyond the holiday and is not therefore peculiar to it.

A second explanation is that, for memories to sustain an individual during times of work they must be positive. Negative memories would not provide an adequate sense of escape from present happenings. Similarly, some returned tourists might be less willing to share negative stories for fear of being seen as someone who dwells on the negative things in life. Behind this is the attitude that one should look *'on the bright side of life'*, focusing on happy and rewarding memories rather than those which arose negative emotions. This is linked to ideas of selfhood, and the idea that only depressing or depressed people choose to dwell on negative memories.

In either case, this raises the question of why so many negative memories were recalled by respondents. It indicates that such memories are not forgotten and can be retrieved when one actively tries to recall them or when an association brings them to mind (Baddeley 1996). One answer why so many negative memories were recalled may be that the relationship between an interviewer and interviewee is different to that of friends or

acquaintances. The interviewee may not feel a social pressure to down play negative incidents. When asked to recall negative memories of a past holiday, interviewees may have related incidents that would not normally have been shared with other people. In some cases negative incidents were obviously recalled with difficulty from a limited store of examples. Out of twenty-six respondents who mentioned that they might not tell their friends certain things about the holiday, twelve (forty-six percent) said that they would not share 'bad memories' or tell friends about things which were 'upsetting' (other details that would not be told included the price of the holiday, intimate or mundane detail) and yet they did recall such events during the interview.

5.6. Conclusions

Following the pattern of the previous two chapters, this chapter illustrated how memories of relaxing can be understood in terms of the deductive composite model as shown in figure 5.1. The nuances of this model, which are shown in figure 3.2 have been elaborated in the text above.

The examples discussed in the chapter above show that the opportunity to relax formed an important part of the holiday experience for cultural tourists. Although based on ideas of 'getting away' and 'recuperation', the means by which relaxation was achieved on holiday varied from person to person depending on their interests and personal agendas. The meanings associated with relaxation consequently varied from person to person, some indicating that relaxation had been achieved through involvement with family

members, therefore suggesting an overlap with the social context, while for others relaxation was associated with time spent alone or in peaceful meditation.

Spending time with family and friends was remembered as an important activity, again highlighting the social aspect of holidays. Aspects of this included strengthening family bonds through additional time spent with one's partner or children and maintaining friendships with people who live abroad. Again, this strongly social activity was balanced in a number of cases by certain tourists who remembered certain incidents of their holiday because they offered an opportunity to escape from family demands and to spend time alone.

The importance of relaxation to the cultural tourist was also indicated by the negative reactions that past tourists recalled towards incidents that had prevented relaxation taking place, or which had created a stressful environment. Relaxation was associated with positive attributes while hindrances were associated with negative features.

Feeling safe and secure was necessary for relaxation to take place. Where personal safety or the safety of possessions was threatened, negative incidents were remembered. One respondent mentioned safety as a factor which added to the ability to relax, but in most cases security was assumed and tourists focused on other aspects of the relaxation process. In some cases relaxation may have also been assumed as a prerequisite for enjoying other experiences such as learning about a place.

Incidents in which relaxation was a focus were valued for providing a sense of recuperation. This beneficial outcome took two different forms. Firstly, tourists remembered returning home in a more relaxed state, in contrast to the stress that had been induced by work. However, this was not recalled as a long-term benefit, the pressures of work soon eroding the sense of well-being. Secondly, tourists saw the memory of holiday experiences as a valuable resource providing past tourists with a sense of recuperation through the 'reliving' of pleasant holiday experiences during times of boredom or stress at other times of the year.

Although some tourists remembered and recounted their experiences of unpleasant situations it is possible that many tourists purposefully down played such recollections. Such incidents may not be mentioned to friends and acquaintances, as they would diminish the tourist's social status. The past tourist may also attempt to 'forget' such experiences, focusing on those that formed a positive impression, so that they function as a recuperative resource. It is unlikely that these experiences are removed from long-term memory, but if the individual makes no effort to retrieve them they may lie dormant (Baddeley 1996). Consequently, the reconstruction of holiday experiences through memory may be an important factor in maintaining or enhancing the beneficial effects of the holiday.

For these reasons the experience of remembering the holiday may be as relaxing as the holiday was. As one respondent said, *'is it important to remember holidays? Yes, of course it is, otherwise there wouldn't be any point... for me a holiday is not just the event*

itself, it is the preparation time and then the remembering time afterwards is just as much part of it. I really enjoy looking back' (B21; F31). The process of remembering is perhaps as enjoyable as the holiday itself, or perhaps even more so when the holiday has been 'reconstructed' (Loftus and Palmer 1982) filtering out the negative memories.

Remembering Cultural Holidays through Souvenirs

6.1. Introduction

i. The composite model of remembered experience

The aim of this chapter is to compare the deductive model with the inductive model of cultural holidays as remembered through souvenirs. The inductive model is based on data taken from fifty interviews with past cultural tourists who had bought or collected souvenirs during a cultural holiday, within the last three years (see figure 6.1). This model is elaborated through the chapter and primarily focuses on the authenticity of souvenirs. Where appropriate, reference is made to chapter four as a means of comparing the use of souvenirs with the spontaneous recall of authentic experiences.

The inductive model proposes that the personal context will influence the choice of certain souvenirs, their significance to the individual and the narratives that are prompted by the object. Unlike spontaneous memories, the memories prompted by souvenirs are primarily concerned with authenticity, with learning and relaxing experiences being peripheral to this. Souvenirs are purchased or collected, then displayed or used for the benefits that they produce.

Central questions that this chapter aims to address are:

1. What type of memories do souvenirs prompt?
2. What characteristics of a souvenir do cultural tourists consider important?
3. Why do people buy or collect souvenirs?

INDUCTIVE COMPOSITE MODEL OF SOUVENIRS

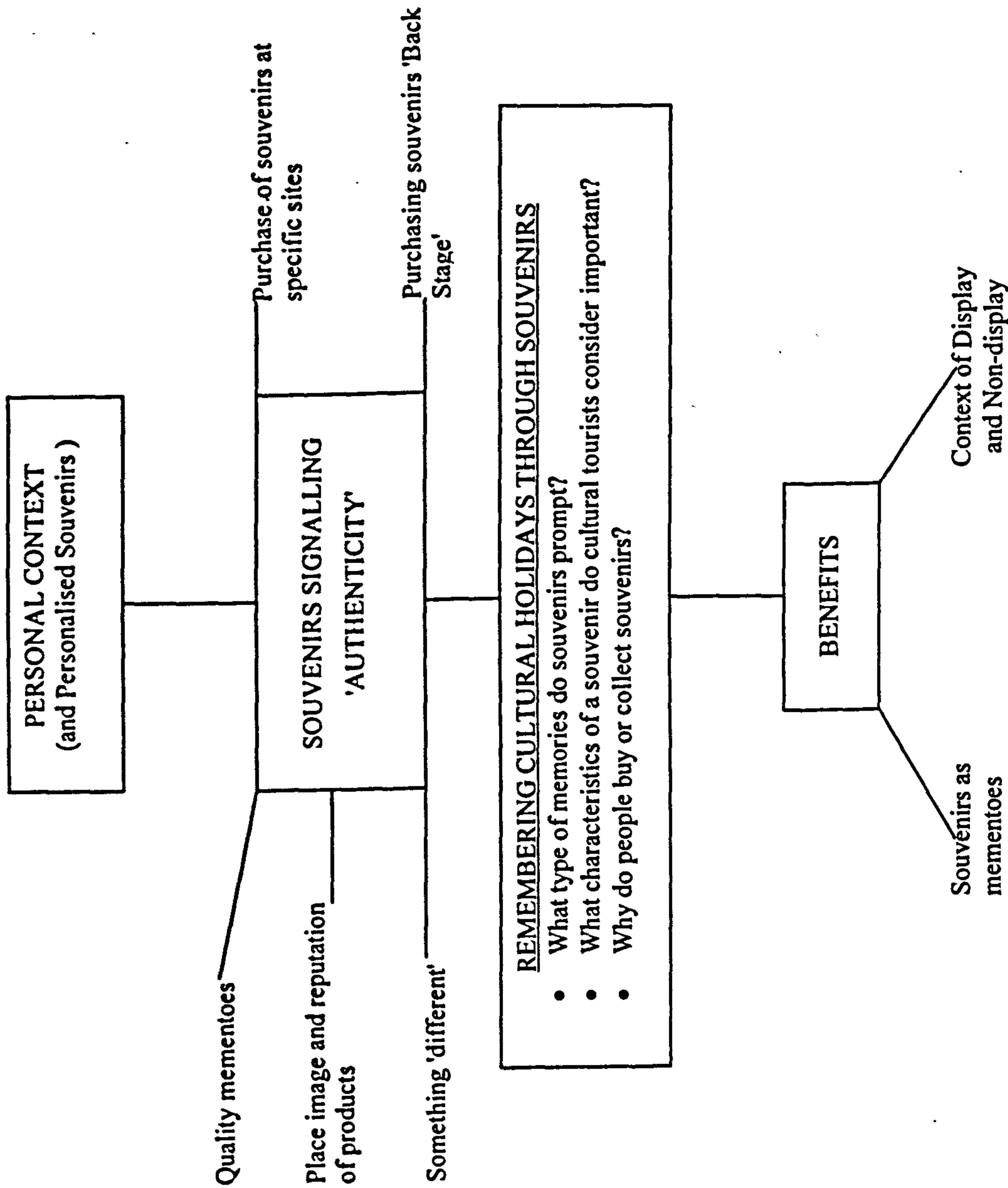


Figure 6.1

6.1.2. Souvenir objects

It is generally acknowledged that souvenirs are purchased as a means of prolonging the holiday experience (Johnson and Thomas 1992). The holiday souvenir is a reminder of non-routine experiences, of events that occurred and places that were visited (Gordon 1986; Littrell 1990; Smith 1979). However, different items have different life spans (see chapter one section six). While a plate or picture may be kept for a number of years, food items are likely to be consumed shortly after the return home. Consequently foodstuffs and other perishable items may not be purchased as mementos. They are purchased as gifts or because they are considered to be particularly good value, being cheaper than the equivalent item sold in Scotland. Small items that are collected during the holiday, such as brochures and tickets, may be kept if they are integrated with photographs or a diary, but if left unsorted they may be thrown out as 'rubbish' as their significance is forgotten. Only two respondents considered tickets and scraps to be particularly special. Stewart (1984) calls such objects 'exterior sites' and suggests that they are usually displayed together (see chapter one section seven) and this was confirmed in the current study. In one case these pieces were integrated into the photograph album and in the other they formed part of a diary. Again, in some cases brochures are not collected as mementos, but simply as information to use during the holiday. They may also be brought back and used to plan a second trip, or to recommend places to other people.

In the current study respondents were asked to discuss a souvenir that they considered 'special' or that was a particular favourite (see chapter two, section 2.3). The focus was most likely to be on a durable item, with objects such as brochures, tickets, or foods

getting a cursory mention. In other words, respondents selected items that were still in their possession. Thirty-nine respondents talked about items that they had purchased. In addition to the meanings that respondents discussed, it is likely that such items stood out as 'special' because both time and money had been invested in their selection. Two respondents mentioned that the purchase of souvenirs had been restricted as there were no items that they would have considered of suitable quality. In both cases items given to them by the people that they had stayed with were considered their most important souvenir. Not surprisingly, in both cases these objects were reminders of the people who had given them as much as of the place.

6.2. Personal Contexts and Personalized Souvenirs

Choosing a souvenir is a personal experience that is based on the tourist's personal tastes, the context in which he or she sees the item and the connection that he or she makes between that item, the place and the self (compare to chapter seven, section 2.3). An object may not have the same meaning for two people because different memories are attached to it (compare to chapter seven, section 2.4). Stewart proposes that the souvenir does 'not function without the supplementary narrative discourse that both attaches it to its origins and creates a myth with regards to those origins... It is not the narrative of the object; it is the narrative of the possessor... Such a narrative cannot be generalized to encompass the experience of anyone; it pertains only to the possessor of the object' (1984: 136).

Stewart (1984) divides souvenirs into two categories, these being 'exterior sites' which are likely to be purchased and 'individual experience', which are not consumer goods, for example shells collected on a beach. However, items that are purposed are still likely to be chosen for their personal significance to the tourist or members of their family group. One respondent explained, *'I spotted this [a small tin box] in a jewellery shop window and it is traditional in that part of Italy that we went to, in fact I think in all of Italy, to give out wedding favours in. The traditional favour is sugared almonds, so this would be a tin that would be given out with the sugared almonds inside to all the guests at a wedding. We tried to ask the jeweller what the 'FG' stood for, was it the husband and wife or was it the wife's initials or what ever. The relevance to us of course is that they are my wife's initials, so that is why it caught my eye. There were lots of them and I think the jeweller, from time to time, had extra ones or maybe just held them in the shop window as an example of the sort of things that he could produce, should some-one be having a wedding (C6; M37).'*' The personal relevance is linked with the place through the experience of finding the item and learning about its cultural significance and the initials.

Items that are 'abstract' are sometimes particularly personal in their meaning. Three respondents chose items because the colour of the object provided a particularly emotive memory trigger. As one respondent said, *'in the main what we tend to bring back is pictures, because that visualizes for us some aspect of the holiday that we remember... That is obviously the print that we bought from Berlin, of the Brandenburg Gate...it has to be colour-wise, something that reminds us as well. To us, Berlin is like that* (indicating

the print) *it is much darker, greys and greens, whereas Australia was much more vibrant a place and Thailand was watery. We try to bring back our thoughts of the place that we went to. So when we look at the object we think about how we enjoyed the place. We either think about hot sunny weather, or that it was a more serious historical place'* (C19; F30). A second respondent demonstrated how personal taste was combined with the perception that the colours gave an accurate representation of the place. She explained, *'the most special thing we brought back would be that painting. It was the colours; we bought it when we were on the Vaser seashore. It is a famous place for artists and there were just every corner you turned there were artists painting. This one just took our fancy. It was the right colours, it was light it was very bright, which is what the town was'* (C11; F52).

Seven respondents considered maps to be particularly special and tended to collect these on all their trips. Thus the maps provided a record of all the places that had been visited. While most cultural tourists buy a map before or during the trip for use as travel guides, these respondents intentionally kept theirs as souvenirs. To read a map an individual must be able to understand the rules and conventions governing them. To these respondents the mapping 'language' appeared to be second nature, maps prompting a detailed memory of place. Maps also emphasised the journeying aspect of a holiday, enabling the route to be retraced. As one respondent said, *'I love looking at maps, I think that they are fascinating. When I am bored at night I just pull the maps out. It is amazing how they bring back memories. You can start retracing your route. I have a cupboard full of maps...I have all the Ordnance Survey maps of Scotland too. It is something that I always*

buy when we are abroad. I like to have an overall map of the area. It is really as good as a brochure or a book, if you have got a detailed map, they tell you so much' (D17; M47).

By marking the places visited and roads taken an individual may differentiate their travels from others who have visited the same area. *'I brought back the map that was used throughout the holiday and have marked on it all the places we visited. It is displayed on the study wall'* (D16; F21).

Souvenirs that are kept provide a focus for recalling aspects of a place or the experience of visiting it (Belk 1988; Harris 1982). Often a memory will focus on the moment of purchase but other associated memories radiate out from this as the interviewee continues to speak and think about the souvenir. In this manner circles of meaning are formed. The purchase experience may lead to memories of the day as a whole, especially if the day was orientated towards shopping. One respondent mentioned *'when I think about it (a leather handbag) I can remember really clearly the place that I bought it from and the whole day of wandering around shops looking at things* (D3; F39). In other cases the location of the purchase provides a focus from which memories expand, *'I remember buying them (aerogrammes) from a small post office in the town we were staying in. We had gone in to buy stamps for the obligatory post cards we were sending, and they were displayed in the window on the counter... Thinking about it reminds me of the whole square, not finding the post office for ages, because it was just round the corner, and well the whole town really once my mind is on that track'* (B9; F28).

Often it is the wife who makes the majority of purchases (Anderson and Littrell. 1995). This may lead to the meaning of a souvenir being hidden to the other family members. As one man said, '*my wife bought this, which is some sort of traditional glassware. I don't know much about it. She went off into this shop and came back with it. I meant to ask her about It*' (D1; M64). While the purchase of souvenirs is often recalled as joint experience those which have been chosen jointly or by the husband himself are likely to be thought more significant than those that his partner has chosen. (Presumably, this would also be true if the situation happened in reverse.) This was particularly apparent in one interview in which the husband began by saying '*we bought a couple of tiles*' and went on to explain their significance in some detail. He then gave a cursory list of other things that had been purchased on the holiday. When asked whether he had chosen the tiles by himself or with his wife he replied, '*I choose the tiles and my wife did all the other bits and pieces*' (C10; M49).

A single souvenir may have dual meaning, tapping into two different memories. For example, one woman explained that her key-ring, which was a representation of a traditional Mederan thatched cottage, reminded her of the shopping centre where she bought it. However, it also reminded her of the botanical gardens where she had seen one and taken a photograph (C8; F35). One memory was triggered by purchase experience, the other by a metonymic connection between the key ring and the cottage.

Souvenirs may operate in a generic manner as well as on a more personal level. For example, one respondent said that a fridge magnet, depicting a typical house in

Amsterdam, reminded her of the style of architecture of Amsterdam. As such it recalled an aspect of foreign culture. However, it also prompted the experiential memory of wandering through the streets of the city admiring the various buildings, *'on a crisp spring day with my husband, soaking up the atmosphere around us'* (D4; F26).

The type of item and whether souvenirs are purchased at all may also be influenced by the personal context. While children may be particularly keen to purchase items as a means of affirming their identity as an individual (Belk 1988), older interviewees often mentioned that they no longer collect souvenirs *'because the house is already full'* (C17; F67 or as another respondent said *'when you get to our age you don't want to be accumulating things'* (C9; M87). Age may also affect the type of objects that are bought, as tastes develop and change (see this chapter, section 3.1 below).

For some respondents buying gifts was considered a higher priority than buying items for oneself. Souvenirs would only be purchased if there were sufficient funds and space available after the gifts had been bought. Again there was some indication that this was more common among older respondents who would buy items for neighbours, children and grandchildren. As one woman said *'we have got eight grandchildren so we are looking for things that are good value. When you are looking for as many as that it can take quite a piece of your spending money you know'* (C13; F64).

The style of travel was another factor restricting the purchase of souvenirs. The prevalence of travelling by plane meant that the weight of the souvenirs was a prime

consideration for some. As one respondent said, *'there was lots of pottery and things which I would have loved to bring back, but it was so heavy! I couldn't carry them. These lovely platters and things, I just couldn't bring them back, it would have been impossible to carry them to the aircraft'* (A1; F74).

We do not need souvenirs of every day or recurrent events. Rather the souvenir is a reminder of different places and experiences (Stewart 1984). An individual may think it more important to collect souvenirs if they do not expect to return to a place. Those who frequently travel to Europe, especially if they return to the same area each year, may not find the purchase of souvenirs important. As one respondent said, *'we don't tend to bring back souvenirs when we go to Europe... I have brought back things in the past, when we went to India and China and South Africa, places that one doesn't expect to go back to'* (C9; M87). Visiting patterns (as discussed in chapter four, section 2.2) may therefore affect souvenir purchase.

6.3. Souvenirs signalling 'authenticity'

Souvenirs provide tangible evidence of travel experience and having found the 'authentic' (Gordon 1996; Littrell et al 1993). However, authenticity is personally constructed, the term having different meanings for different people (Littrell et al 1993). As discussed in chapter four, section 4, the authenticity of an item, or experience, is determined through the recognition of certain signs or markers that can be either socially or personally determined (MacCannell 1976; Chaney 1994).

Gordon (1986) identified five types of souvenirs that act as sacred icons (see chapter one section 6). These distinctions were based on the physical properties of the souvenir. In contrast, this study focuses on the meaning of the souvenir to the past cultural tourist and the categories are based on the terms respondents used to describe their souvenirs. It was found that authenticity was a main concern and that this was signalled to cultural tourists by five markers, which are discussed below.

6.3.1. Quality momentos

Cultural tourists differentiate themselves from 'other' tourists (see chapter four, section 3.2). Similarly, the cultural tourist differentiates between 'souvenirs' and objects that they have purchased while on holiday. Twenty-seven (out of fifty) respondents made a distinction between 'souvenirs' and what they would buy. Words such as 'tacky', 'trash', 'cheap', 'rubbish' and 'kitsch' were words used to describe mass produced souvenirs. In contrast the discerning cultural tourist seeks quality items that are well made and produced in the area being visited. Many cultural tourists prefer to '*spend a little more*,' even if this means that fewer items can be purchased. The following are typical comments about the difference between 'souvenirs' and the 'quality momentos' that the respondent, as a cultural tourist, would select.

When I think of the word 'souvenir' I immediately have an image of a woman wearing a Spanish sombrero hat and a carrying a model donkey, but that obviously isn't the sort of thing that we tend to bring back. From our last holiday I brought back a really nice leather handbag, which I use a lot of the time. It was just really nicely made (D3; F39).

I abhor the mass productions of plaster-caste trashy things, so I would probably look for the local crafts (C7; F61).

I always think of souvenirs as something trashy. You know, I would much prefer to buy a piece of linen or something just that little bit better. I never buy souvenirs. ... Not things that say 'come to Spain' and all this sort of thing, I don't like that sort of thing. I'd much rather spend a little more (C1; F74).

In some cases the rationale for purchasing souvenirs was underpinned by a strong protestant ethic. Mass produced items were disapproved of because *'they are rubbishy things that we will throw away'* (C18; M58). In contrast the items selected should be *'useful'* or *'practical'*. For one woman, buying an item for oneself was *'a treat'*, and generally she only bought items that she needed and would have bought in Britain (C25; F48). Although the items purchased were often decorative, a number of respondents stressed that they would not purchase *'dust collectors'*. Items that had some practical use, such as jugs, handbags and calendars, were favoured by a number of respondents. It was also important that the *'souvenir'* should be an item that was liked, not bought *'just for the sake of it'*. Of course a decoration is less likely to be considered clutter if it is liked.

Six respondents described children as collectors of *'souvenirs'*. Again this was contrasted to their own more discerning and sophisticated habits. One respondent defined a souvenir as *'dolls dressed in national costume, things I used to buy as a child'* (C16; F62). Another woman, explaining the difference, said *'we tend to collect pencils and postcards,*

small inexpensive things so that the children can identify with the place. We don't tend to go for ornaments or collect anything for ourselves really. I mean I like maps, I am very keen on maps, if I see an old map of a place or an old etching I would go for something like that, but not the souvenir type thing... 'Souvenir' has got a kind of a temporal quality; it is not so lasting in some way. And with it being child orientated you have really got to keep the idea simple... Whereas I think a map, an etching, or something like that you get pleasure from the art itself, as well as the memories that are associated to it' (C3; F35).

Of course a mass-produced souvenir may be cherished by the child and thought of as beautiful. The quality memento is kept because it is valued both for the memories that it prompts and the aesthetic pleasure that it gives its middle-class adult who owns it.

Three respondents consciously purchased items they considered to be 'kitsch'. This was not because they thought they were of any particular value, but rather was because the items were considered amusing. One respondent explained of the writing on a musical tankard, *'it is a little joke. It says "Invest your money in alcohol, where else do you get forty percent?" So there is that, that appealed to my sense of humour (C20; M53).*

Another respondent said of a tortoise made of shells, *'this absolutely gorgeous little character is my favourite souvenir. I fell in love with him because he is the most hideous thing that I have ever seen. Also because we were in Hungary, which is a land-locked country and he is made of shells, which we thought was quite amusing (D16; F21).*

6.3.2. Place image and reputation of products

Gordon (1986) lists 'local product' as one of his categories of souvenir, this being items produced in the area that has been visited and may range from foodstuffs through to arts and crafts. A typical example is purchasing cheese in France or tulips from Amsterdam. Similarly, the type of product that the cultural tourist chooses as a souvenir may be affected by the place image and its associated reputation for certain products. Twelve respondents made remarks that suggested that their choice of souvenir was influenced by the image of a place and its culture, or its reputation for producing particularly good quality products of a particular type.

Three female cultural tourists attempted to appropriate the 'foreignness' of another place through the purchase of clothing. The items were chosen because for the cultural image that the item conveyed to the past tourist. Italian clothing was differentiated from that available in Britain by its '*design*' and '*style*' (C7; F61). A scarf bought in Paris was purchased as a reminder of the '*French style*' (C4; F28). This image may be recognised and admired by other people upon the return home. '*Seeing as I'd bought a new scarf I had to buy a new coat... when I came back I went around wearing it every day, like the French women do. People often compliment me on it, saying that I am looking together. So it makes me think that I'm more like the French style... It makes me feel a bit more of the French chic*'. For the third respondent a waistcoat bought in Prague acted in the same manner. Having bought the garment the respondent discovered that it had been made in Nepal, which she considered detrimental to its authenticity. However she continued to say, '*I had that waistcoat on at a playgroup last week and somebody came up to me and said,*

"you are looking very Bohemian today". So although it wasn't made there I think that it is fairly representative of the feeling of the holiday' (C5; F29).

The image of place conjured by the souvenir may be a romanticized image governed by marketing rather than how the tourist actually experiences the place. For the woman who had been to Prague, some bells, later used to make an advent calendar, were a poignant reminder *'because Prague was a very mediaeval looking, Christmassy place and we went to the Cathedral of St. Wenceslas and all of those things give me a recall of a sort of Christmassy feeling'*. When asked what time of year they visited she replied, *'It was in the summer time and it was baking hot! (Laughing) But, we had seen a lot of pictures of it in the winter. The time that we went, it was being used heavily in films and advertising. The King Charles Bridge, which is one of the most famous spots in Prague and the one with all the statues across the top, had been used in a film. I can't remember the name of it now but it was absolutely snow laden with fog and things swirling around it and so even though we didn't go at that time of year I can imagine what it would be like at Christmas time. I would have liked to go at a different time of year, but we couldn't take holidays at that time of year'*. Another respondent who had purchased a pair of antique ice-skates in Amsterdam, explained, *'they do a lot of skating there on the canals in winter. We didn't see that because the canals weren't frozen but to me it is something typical of the place'* (D22; M38). As with spontaneous memories the souvenir may therefore conjure a preferred or promoted image of place (see chapter four, section 4.1; chapter five, section 5.4) rather than the memory of the place, as it was actually experienced.

Nine respondents made a clear link between a place and the goods it produced. As one respondent said, *'it depends on what the place is good for, like my daughter's (leather) bag from Florence. Just whatever is particular to that country'* (C24; F53). Two other respondents also associated Italy with leather artefacts, and had chosen to purchase leather items because of this. One commented, *'I sort of had it (a leather bag) in mind to wait until Italy because they are known to be so good at leatherwork'* (C14; F53) and the other said, *'we bought those (a belt and a briefcase) because of the reputation of Italian leather... I am very aware that the belt came from Italy... I think that it is because it is extremely good quality'* (D10; M43). A respondent who had visited Germany had associated the country with *'wooden things'* (C15; F59), and flowers were purchased in Madeira because the respondent *'knew that Madeira is quite famous for its flowers'* (D18; F47). In each of these cases there is an assumption that the products that a country is known for are of high quality.

In addition to the nine respondents who made direct statements about the importance of the place's reputation for particular products, it may have affected many other respondents. Two respondents who had visited Portugal brought back painted ceramics and visitors to Amsterdam brought back Delft china, (or cheaper imitations) and tulips (either fresh, wooden, or made from a Heineken tin can). Therefore, despite a quest for a quality memento, the cultural tourist may be susceptible to the stereotypical souvenir.

The purchase of items from the area or country in which they were made was a sign of authenticity for some respondents. As one man said, '*this plate up here (retrieving it from the kitchen wall) I thought was quite attractive. It's an example of the local style and (turning it over) made in Italy, genuine. You sometimes look on the backs of things and find that they have been made elsewhere*' (C6; M37). As in the case of the 'Bohemian waist-coat' described above, an item may appear to be authentic but actually be made elsewhere and this may damage its perceived value to some extent.

Another respondent considering several ceramic items purchased in Delft said, '*we walked around the square and then we went to the factory. We had a tour there and bought several things. The children bought these things (indicating objects on table) this was their choice, salt and pepper (two simple figures in blue and white) and a little piggy bank (pig in blue and white). I don't think they are real Delft, I think it is called royal Dutch porcelain, or something like that. Delft has a very special mark, which these ones don't have, but then they would have cost a fortune. (Turning upside down to read bottom) 'Delft blue, hand painted in Holland', but it is not the Delft mark. We bought tiles for the front door, Delft tiles that we haven't put up yet and we bought two little Delft figures, in national costume, also in blue and white. (What do you particularly like about the Delft figures - what makes them stand out from the others?) Well they are very delicate, they are beautifully made and they were very expensive (laughing). They have the Delft mark!*' (D13; F47). For the children it was sufficient that the items were made in Holland. They were the recognisable blue and white style and this was balanced with the money available to spend. For the parents, who were spending more on their selection,

the sign of authenticity had to be more precise. The mark indicated to them both the quality of the product and the place of production.

6.3.3. Something different

Finding markers of different places and cultures is central to the authentic experience for some cultural tourists (see chapter four, section 4.3). While these objects may also fit Gordon's (1986) definition of 'local product' (see chapter one, section 6) they are described using different terms to those, which are purchased because of a place's reputation for certain goods (see this chapter, section 3.2 above). If the cultural tourist is seeking a memento of a 'different' place (see this chapter, section 2 above) it is perhaps appropriate that they should seek items that are considered unusual or that are unlike objects available in Scotland, '*things that don't travel*' as one respondent put it (C12; F42). A souvenir that is 'different' provides a direct metonymic link with a 'different' place.

Nine respondents mentioned specifically looking for things that were 'different'. By this they meant items that one is unlikely to be able to find and purchase in Britain. These respondents might look for such items in the 'local' shops such as hardware shops, department stores, or a supermarket. Typically such items are of a practical nature but are also considered somewhat unusual because they are not commonly available in Britain. One respondent bought tablecloth weights for use outside (B13; F47) another bought painted olive bowls (C10; M49). A third respondent explained that they had brought back a can of beer from Germany because, '*it is such a massive big can, a litre! I have never seen litre cans over here.*' She went on to say, '*we look for things that you can't buy over*

here. Those birthday calendars (picking up two or three calendars) you can't buy over here. I brought five back as gifts, but I have got one hanging by our bed to remind myself of everyone's birthdays. And, I brought back an electrical kettle, because I like their designs and quality of house products. It is superior to what you can get over here' (C15; F59). As with other souvenirs the quality of these items is considered to be important.

6.3.4. Purchase of souvenirs at specific sites

A souvenir is valued because of its metonymic relationship to the place in which it was purchased (Stewart 1984). Alcoholic beverages were commonly connected to places because they took their name from the site of production. They are what Gordon (1986) would term place 'markers'. This made them a particularly suitable form of alcohol to be purchased when visiting that area. Thus Rica wine was bought in Rica, Port from Portugal and Madeira wine from Madeira. As one of these respondents commented, '*I brought back a bottle of Rica wine from Rica...it was special partly because it was bought in that area'* (D16; F21).

Five respondents had bought an item at a specific tourist attraction. The location of the purchase appeared to give the souvenir a particularly strong metonymic connection with place. One respondent, who had purchased a paperweight in the shape of the Arc de Triomphe, explained '*I made a special effort to go inside the building (indicating the entrance on paperweight) and right up to the top and on to the roof. There were wonderful views of the Champs Elysées, and all the streets that radiate from it (pointing in all directions and sketching the roads in the air)... That (the Arc de Triomphe paper weight) I actually got inside. There is a hall inside and I bought it there, knowing that I*

had bought it there. I remember the actual building, rather than buying it in some wee shop elsewhere. Because I bought it there it sticks more in my memory' (C18; M58). Another respondent recalled of a souvenir bought in Bourges: *'they do a lot of hand-made paper and we went to the factory. That was more like buying a souvenir of a place. We bought a new address book for the telephone'* (C14; F53). Whether a miniature of an attraction (which Gordon 1986 would term 'symbolic short hand'), or a product for which a place is particularly well known ('local product' in Gordon's terminology (1986)), the place of purchase adds an additional layer of meaning to the souvenir (Stewart 1984).

6.3.5. Purchasing souvenirs backstage

Shopping and the purchase of souvenirs can be an integral part of the search for authenticity (Littrell et al 1993; Anderson and Littrell 1995) and the memories prompted by souvenirs are often purchase-focused. Of the sixteen respondents whose souvenirs prompted the recall of a purchase experience, eleven mentioned aspects that indicated that the purchase had allowed contact between the tourist and the 'local'.

For nine of these respondents, finding 'local', non-touristy shops were of notable importance, mirroring attempts to escape from the tourist route (see chapter four, section 4.7). These were places that were frequented by the people who lived in the place visited. Other tourists may visit the shop or market as well but not in too obvious a manner. Also, the shop or stall tends not to sell items specifically intended to be souvenirs. Shopping in such places offers an opportunity to experience an aspect of everyday life in the local

community, without being obtrusive. As such, shopping may be compared to sitting in a café watching local people go about their daily lives (see chapter four, section 4.7).

Foreign shops may also be remembered because they offer a different type of shopping experience to that which takes place in Britain. As one respondent explained, *'I bought it (a jersey) in a sports shop. It had lots of tracksuit type clothes in it and I think we were the only British people in the shop, the rest were all Italians trying on things. The trouble with Italian shops often is that you can't really try on things as you can in Britain; an assistant is always with you. You can't sort of browse really in an Italian shop... I usually buy things in the local shops, the shops that the Italians use themselves. I avoid the shops that have all the touristy things in them'* (C7; F61).

Five respondents had vivid memories of the sales person, who may have also been involved in the production of the souvenir, having briefly spoken to them about their wares. One respondent recalled, *'we bought these (pieces of embroidery) in Monti (Sardinia), and they were sold to us by a very old man in his seventies, without any teeth, quite poor looking. He had a tray of these handkerchiefs on his head and he said that his family made them. I had no reason to believe that wasn't true'* (C8; F35). Although restricted, the purchase of goods allows contact with local people, an important element in establishing the authenticity of experience (see section 4.4.7).

As discussed in chapter four, section 2.3, knowledge of the local language may play an important role in establishing an 'authentic' experience of place as it provides a means of direct contact with local people. However, overcoming a language barrier may also make

the purchasing experience memorable as it too provides an extended communication with local people. Both women quoted above also commented on the challenge of trying to communicate with little or no knowledge of the foreign language. As one of them recalled the strategy she employed. *'I was wondering what type of wood it was and the assistant couldn't speak any English at all. So he got out the brochure and from that we looked up what it was. It turned out that it was a beech, but we only found that out in the Italian, so we had to write it down and get the dictionary out to find out what kind of wood it was. But it was most interesting, and they were very helpful (C7; F61).*

The purchase of souvenirs may also offer an opportunity for watching artisans at work (Littrell 1990; Littrell et al 1993; Anderson and Littrell 1995). This is remembered with appreciation because it provides a glimpse of the 'back stage' (MacCannell 1976). One respondent said, *'I have a very keen memory of the shop where I bought it (a leather bag). The craft man actually worked at the back of the shop, and you could see him working. The bit where he sold the bags was just a small bit at the front. So that is all vividly attached to the item as a memory' (C14; F53).* Another woman commented, *'there were lots of artisans selling wooden painted goods which I thought were more representative of what was happening in the town at the time that we went than going into an expensive shop. These were things that we hoped were being produced by local people. This one was just a very plain and very simple wooden toy, that you can get here, but this one - he was making them at the stall and painting them and I thought that that was something that she (Katie) could keep. It makes me think of seeing the guy making these things, and*

hopefully he is making a good living out of it. He was certainly selling a lot of them any way!' (C5; F29).

6.4. Benefits of remembering through souvenirs

6.4.1. Introduction

The model of remembered experience suggests that people collect souvenirs because of the benefits that are gained from doing so (see figure 6.1.). The section below considers the benefits souvenirs may offer and how these benefits may be affected by the context in which they are displayed.

6.4.2. Souvenirs as momentos

As discussed in this chapter, section 1.2, one purpose of a souvenir is to remind the past tourist of their travels (although the use value may also be important, see this chapter, section 4.3 below). When asked how they would define the word souvenir, twenty respondents (out of a total of fifty) referred to an object's ability to act as a memory prompt. Only three respondents who had collected or bought souvenirs whilst on holiday (total forty-six) did not recall an aspect of their holiday when talking about their souvenir.

The souvenir acts as a reminder of both the place that was visited and the personal experience of visiting it. One respondent said that for her a 'souvenir' was an object that prompted '*memories of your holiday and the country*' (C15; F59). For another woman a souvenir was, '*something I would bring back from a place I have visited, something that I*

particularly liked and that reminded me of a particularly enjoyable aspect of my holiday, a memory to take home, in a physical form' (D4; F26).

Importantly, the souvenir is a reminder of happy memories and places that were enjoyed (compare to chapter five, section 5.4 and chapter seven, section 3.4). As one respondent said, her souvenir was *'special because every time I look at it, it brings back happy memories. It just reminds me of our good holiday'* (D4; F26). Another woman expressed the same sentiment when she said, *'the cards were my favourites. They are actually greeting cards of three different scenes in the area we visited. I liked them because they remind me of wandering through the area, also of the style of villages, sunshine and enjoying ourselves'* (D24, F32). These are memories of periods of relaxation and enjoying new places at a leisurely pace. Only one respondent mentioned having a souvenir that provoked a negative memory. He regretted the object's association and proceeded to describe the memory he would prefer it to prompt (D5; M58).

The souvenir marks special events and experiences that stand out from every day routine (Gordon 1986; Littrell 1990; Smith 1979). As one respondent said, *'a souvenir is a small reminder of somewhere you have enjoyed visiting... We liked those (polished stones) because they were small; they reminded us of the place; they were attractive as well and local because they had all been found locally. So there were all the kinds of things that I look for in a souvenir. They remind me of happy memories of the holiday and choosing them together, the kind of thing that we don't normally have time to do'* (C3 F35). Although the souvenir may be chosen for its authenticity and connection with a place, it

also functions as a marker of an enjoyable experience, a 'sacred' time (Graburn 1978; Belk 1989; Stewart 1984) in which family members can do things together. The very fact that the family or couple may have the time to go shopping together, or have spent time choosing an item together may mark it as different from life at home. As such it is also a symbol of a period of relaxation and family unity.

Enjoyable memories prompted by souvenirs may act as sustaining force once the tourist has returned to their daily routine. As one respondent said, *'it is a way of spinning the holiday out isn't it, carrying with you some recollection of the place. Not so much that calendar, but I have a small one on my desk at work that I look at and think "Yes, that was good. This is what I am working all these hours for!"'* (C24; F53). The souvenir that is brought back to the realm of work provides both a means of temporary escape through memory and the motivation to continue working towards the next holiday. As such the souvenir sustains the individual through a period of work (Graburn 1978; Cohen 1979).

6.4.3. The context of display and non display

Certain souvenirs such as pictures and ornaments can be used to decorate the home. Twenty-two respondents displayed their souvenirs with the apparent intention of enhancing the home environment. An Italian plate was displayed on an upper shelf in the kitchen (C6; M37); an Italian calendar was hung in a dining-room, its colours of red and gold complementing the colour scheme of the room (24; F53); a small print depicting a Paris scene in pastel colours was hung in a living room with a number of other pale modern pictures (D25; F52) and a collection of postcards were displayed in a bedroom

(D6; F52). Such items are enjoyed for the aesthetic pleasure that they give their owners.

As one respondent said of a wooden carving, *'I think it's attractive and I like to have things that I can look at about the house'* (D18; F70).

In some cases souvenirs create an appreciation for other cultures, their presence being a reminder of another European nation. Belk (1989) suggests that to retain their sacred quality, or in other words to retain the ability to remind people of the place they came from, souvenirs must be separated from other objects which are used every day and treated with some kind of ritual. As one respondent said, of some wooden toys brought back from Prague, *'these are what we call "look at toys"'. She (the daughter) is allowed to play with them but she knows that she is not allowed to wreck them. Hopefully they will survive her childhood long enough for her to treasure them. And, I like them as well. I like looking at them and, you know, I give them a dust in her bedroom and think "that is a little something from another culture"'* (C5; F29). Also, having been removed from its original context and re-housed, the souvenir stands out as being 'different', thus drawing attention to itself (Stewart 1984). In some cases, however, this is at odds with the intention of embellishing the home environment. One respondent bought a piece of Spanish pottery, but having brought it home decided to give it away because it did not 'fit in'. (D2; F52).

The change of context in which an item is displayed may alter the appearance of the souvenir in the eyes of its owner. This may have a positive or negative effect. For one respondent a huge reproduction of a painting by Vermeer looked much 'darker' than

expected when it was framed and hung in the family room, which disappointed the respondent. However, ceramic salt and pepper pots in shape of a Dutch man and woman were improved by the new context of display. *'I wouldn't have chosen them, the children chose them, but out of context they are lovely, they are different'* (D13; F47).

'Quality' momentos provide evidence that an 'authentic' experience has been obtained. If sufficiently different from what is available for purchase in Scotland the souvenir acts as a sign to other people that a foreign place has been visited. As the material possession is 'shown off' so too is the ability to collect such items through foreign travel and consequently, the social status of the returned tourist may be enhanced. The quality and authenticity of the items may also be interpreted by visiting friends and relatives as a sign of 'good taste', again increasing an individual's social status. Such items may also provide a point of interest around which discussion may take place because, unlike an item bought locally, the souvenir is likely to trigger a story of how and where it was found or what made the tourist bring it back.

Eight respondents mentioned buying souvenirs to add to a collection. While the item serves the purpose of enlarging the collection, its significance as a souvenir will depend on the owner's memory and how distinct the souvenir is. One respondent had collected jugs from around the world. The collection dominated the breakfast room. When asked if she had brought back a jug from the holiday in question she replied, *'I've got so many now (indicating two full shelves and an overflow collection in another part of the room) that it is hard to remember where each has come from. That small pottery one at the top*

might have come from there, I'm not sure' (B19; F50). In contrast, another respondent collected miniature houses, the architecture of each being individual enough to bring to mind the place it had come from. He recalled, *'we bought a number of those little Amsterdam houses, the china ones. We bought six of those to display. I like them and they are nice to display. They remind us of the buildings in Amsterdam. We bought, when we were in London years ago, third from the left (indicating the mantle-piece) a model of Sherlock's house in Baker Street. And we got little Greek houses from another holiday'* (B15; M47).

Three respondents mentioned collecting Christmas decorations. In some countries the purchase of these items is dependent on visiting a country during winter when they are for sale. Although these souvenirs are only displayed during the Christmas season, the Christmas tree and therefore the items on it, are a main focus of attention throughout this period. The Christmas tree becomes a reminder of places and past events, *'a lot of our Christmas decorations are made up of holiday souvenirs...(Do they remind you of the places you have been to?) Oh, very much so, because you think, "that came from there". Oh yes, very much so. That is what is so nice about them'* (C15; F59). Again the ease of recall may depend on the character of the decoration as well as the past tourist's memory. As a second respondent said, *'it is a tradition to buy a Christmas decoration every year and so we bought some hand painted baubles, painted in the Dutch style. (When you hang up your Christmas decorations do they remind you of the holiday?) Some do. Some are specific. Those china ones will always remind us of Holland because they are so Dutch in their style with Dutch scenes painted on them. You can't help looking at them*

and think "Dutch." So yes that would bring back a memory of the holiday. We would probably rack our brains to remember the year that we went there, but we might piece it together and remember what we did' (D23; M30).

Seven respondents intended to display one of their souvenirs but as yet had not done so. This was most common with pictures requiring framing and door number tiles that require fixing in place. In both cases the souvenir could not be displayed without the necessary fittings and the time to fit them. As time passes the likelihood of the souvenir being displayed may diminish. As one respondent said, *'we also bought a poster and a couple of post cards. We meant to put the poster in a clip frame, but we haven't got round to doing that yet - I'm not sure if we will now. My wife had the same idea with the post cards, but again they are still sitting in the packet they came in, waiting to be remembered!'* (D10; M43). Having had a picture framed a further delay may occur while the owner decides where it should be hung to the best advantage (D24; F30).

Nineteen respondents said that they used their souvenirs. This is perhaps not so surprising as they were purchased with usefulness in mind (see this chapter, section 3.1). Consequently, these reminders of cultural holidays are readily accessible. One respondent said of a large cup and saucer, *'they (the French) use them for soup. They are far too large for tea! (Have you used it since you got back?) Oh yes, every time I have soup I eat it out of that now. (Does it remind you of France when you use it?) It can't fail but to remind me, with the picture on the outside and it is never totally filled so I always see the one on the inside too'* (D12; M72). Another respondent said of her gateaux slice and

wooden kitchen utensils, *'I use them all the time, and I have taken great pleasure in using them. It reminds me of the holiday'* (C7; F61). Such items have a dual purpose. They have a functional value but they also provide an accessible reminder of the holiday.

Past tourists may restrict the degree to which a souvenir is used depending on its perceived value. One woman said of her collection of souvenirs, *'most of them are being used. As you can see, the key ring has my car keys on it. The handbag, I don't use that often, because I think of it as special, but I wear the earrings...'* (C8; F35). By using the souvenir less frequently the life span is increased because it suffers from less wear and tear. Similarly, an item such as a plate or jug may be displayed to avoid damage and used only for 'special' occasions such as a dinner party.

Souvenirs such as flowers are not expected to last long but may be considered 'special' both for their beauty and as a reminder of the holiday. To extend the life of such souvenirs one woman photographed the flowers she had bought in Madeira. The flowers died after three weeks but afterwards the photographs functioned as a reminder of how the flowers were displayed and also as a replacement for the flowers as souvenir, prompting memories of where the flowers had been bought and of the gardens in Madeira (D8; F47).

6.5. Conclusions

As in previous chapters the above text follows the pattern of the deductive composite model (figure 6.1) and elaborates the inductive composite model shown in figure 6.2.

Having shown in chapters three, four and five that memories of European cultural holidays can be understood by focusing on three aspects of experience, (learning, authenticity and relaxation) it might be supposed that souvenirs would prompt similarly focussed memories. However, as the examples reveal, 'special' souvenirs are most likely to emphasise memories of authentic experiences and to be discussed in these terms. Having said this, souvenirs do prompt memories of past holidays and the relaxation associated with it. They may also prompt tourists to think about and appreciate other cultures, which can be seen in terms of a learning experience (see chapter three, section 4.3).

Rather than using a classification system based on the physical features of souvenirs that convey meaning (Gordon 1986), the meaning that past cultural tourists ascribe to their souvenirs was used to structure categories of objects. As with authentic experiences (discussed in chapter four) the cultural tourist appears to seek certain signs that they believe authenticate the items that they purchase. The data suggested that the authenticity of an item was most commonly signalled by; contrasting the objects to others that were considered inauthentic (this has parallels with chapter four section five); the personal taste of the individual; the place image and reputation for certain products; the 'different'; the place of purchase, and the 'local'.

It was shown that the personal context, or the individual's personal taste, play an important role in the individual's choice of souvenir. Generally, 'quality' items were preferred but certain individuals showed an appreciation for kitsch items, which were

seen in terms of their humorous potential, rather than being disregarded as merely grotesque. The interpretation of a souvenir's meaning was also shown to be a personal matter. While family groups may share an understanding of a souvenir's significance it was also shown that the meaning of an object might be restricted to the person who purchased it.

An important factor in the choice of souvenir was that it 'fitted in' with other household objects, again reflecting an individual's personal taste. Thus, while souvenirs are tokens from 'other' places, more exotic souvenirs may be rejected due to the proposed context of display. In this regard souvenirs function as household adornments, the benefit of which is that it provides pleasure to its owner through its aesthetic appearance. Similarly, items that are chosen to enlarge a collection must 'fit in' to their new context and this may reduce the object's symbolic connection with its place of purchase.

However, selective European souvenirs may be used to convey a cosmopolitan image, which may enhance the individual's self-image or social status. The latter is dependent on the souvenir being displayed in a place where visitors can view it, such as the living room. The purchase of 'quality' items is likely to have a similar effect. In addition to this the souvenir provides evidence that the individual discovered (and captured) the authentic, which again may enhance the social status of an individual.

It was also important that the souvenir provoked happy memories of the holiday as a whole. (As having time to enjoy one's self and to shop for souvenirs is an aspect of

relaxation there is some overlap between the search for the authentic and relaxation.) The purchase of souvenirs was selective, a souvenir of an unhappy experience being mentioned by only one respondent. It is therefore presumed that if a place is not enjoyed the tourist is unlikely to purchase a souvenir there, or if they do the memory that is associated with it is likely to be of broader and more favourable holiday memories. Therefore, souvenirs appear to play an important role in the reconstruction of holiday experiences.

For the past tourist to benefit from the souvenir, either in terms of its aesthetic value, its potential to enhance social status, or as a memory prompt, it is necessary for the souvenir to be displayed or used. It may be that cultural tourists are aware of this and consequently seek out souvenirs that they think are 'useful' or attractive.

Remembering Cultural Holidays Through Photographs

7.1 Introduction

i. The composite model of remembered experience

The aim of this chapter is to compare the deductive model with an inductive model of cultural holidays as remembered through photographs. The inductive model is based on data taken from fifty interviews with individuals who had been on a cultural holiday in Europe within the last three years (see figure 7.1.). This model is elaborated through the chapter. Comparisons are also made between the type of memories prompted by photographs and the spontaneous memories reported in chapters three, four and five.

The model proposes that the personal context will affect both the choice of subject and the narratives that are inspired by the resulting image. As with spontaneous memories, the memories that photographs prompt can be divided into three broad categories, these being memories of learning experiences, authentic experiences and relaxing experiences. These categories may overlap to some extent. Photographs are taken, kept and looked at for the benefits produced.

Central questions that this chapter aims to address are:

1. What type of memories do photographs prompt?
2. Are particular styles of photograph valued over others?
3. Why do people take and keep photographs?

INDUCTIVE COMPOSITE MODEL OF PHOTOGRAPHS

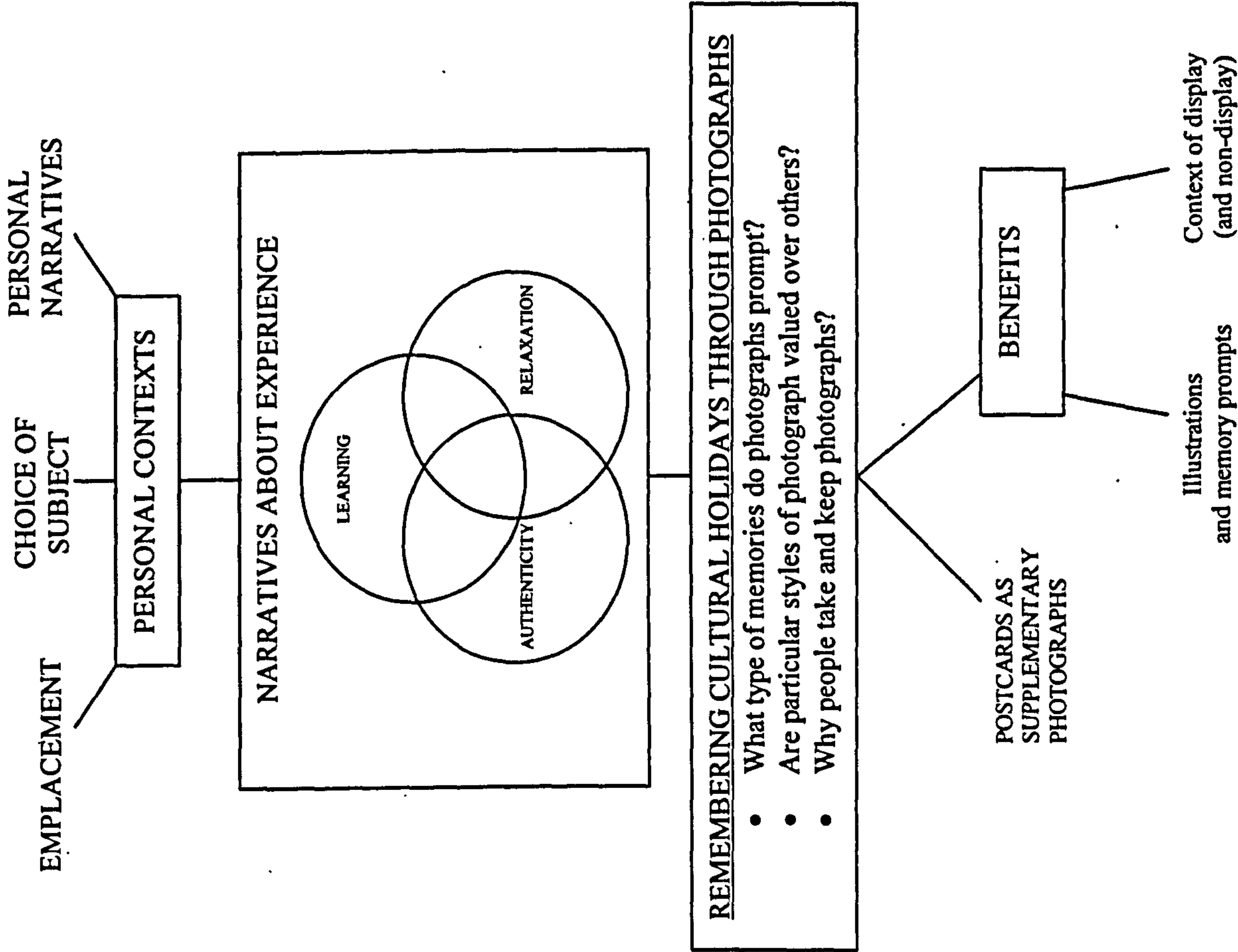


Figure 7.1

7.1.2. Photographs, experience and memory

It is very rare for the middle class tourist to travel without a camera and it is almost taken for granted that at least one or two films will be taken during a week's holiday. The set of photographs that is produced acts as reminders of a week (more or less) that has passed too quickly but which is captured forever in the static images. As such the photograph freezes a moment in time and allows it to be transported into the future (Sontag 1978: 81), where it can be studied again. No matter how rushed the holiday may have been one can later relax in the comfort of one's home and 'revisit' the sites at leisure. The photograph provides a means of holding onto a moment and proving its existence. As one respondent said regretfully, of an event, *'we never got a photograph of it. It was almost like it didn't happen'* (D19; M52).

When required, photographs provide proof to others that the trip was made, that socially approved activities were done and that everyone enjoyed themselves (Sontag 1978: 8; Edwards 1992: 139). However, the photograph can only capture the visual, whereas memory records not only sounds and smells but also 'experiential' factors such as the feeling of being there, the atmosphere of the place and the social context (Pocock 1982: 10). Photographs are only a partial representation of reality and while they show many details, even a series of photographs requires language or text to fill gaps in the narrative (Urry 1995; Pocock 1982). But photographs can also prompt narratives. It is for this reason that Crang suggests that photographs should be seen as starting-points from which to hang personal stories rather than as iconographic systems. As such the photos might function as a 'mnemotechnology' providing visual prompts and locations for memories

and stories (1997: 368). The stories that one tells about one's photographs are therefore as important, if not more so, than the photographs themselves.

The photograph is more than a record of an event, as making the photograph was part of the event itself (Crang 1997: 366). The photograph that shows an image of the tourist facing the camera with a famous site in the background has required the tourist to stop looking at the site, to turn and face the camera, to pose and pause while the moment is recorded. When looking at a photograph the past tourist may remember the moment at which the picture was taken but the memory and verbal accounts that are inspired by it are likely to be much longer in duration, recalling the time both before and after the picture was taken (Botterill and Crompton 1987: 152).

7.2. Personal contexts

i. Introduction

Sontag (1978:9) describes travel as a strategy for accumulating photographs. Even when professional images of a place are for sale there remains an urge to take one's own photographs to capture the personal experience of visiting (Crang 1996). To the 'outsider', the photographs produced may seem remarkably similar to those of other tourists that have visited the area but there are ways in which a set of photographs is personalized. Data from interviews with past cultural tourists suggest that this is achieved through the personal choice of subjects as images and narratives that are inspired by them.

ii. Emplacement

One means of ensuring that one achieves a personalized image of a place is to incorporate a member of one's travelling group in the photograph (Crang 1996). The picture can then be differentiated from the impersonal, professional images. One respondent explained, *'we purposefully decided to take lots of pictures of ourselves. Quite often you go on holiday and come back with no pictures of yourself...Without people in them they are just like pictures you get in a book'* (D24; F30). Emplacement also provides proof of having visited the area oneself (Crang 1996) and as such may make the photograph more valuable as a souvenir of the holiday. As another respondent said, *'this was in the Danube Tower. We went up there for lunch. It is not a brilliant photograph, but it is of both of us so it is a good souvenir. You have got Vienna in the background'* (C20; M53).

Even those tourists who prefer to take scenic or architectural pictures are likely to have one or two photographs in which there is deliberate emplacement. Commenting to one respondent that none of her photographs included people, she replied, *'yes we tend to miss ourselves out if we can, but every now and then we like to say, "we were there, it was us that was there"'* (C7; F61). Such photographs were thought of as *'holiday snaps'* by this couple. They were of a different nature and lower status to the less personal scenic photographs that were usually taken but were still valued as they provided proof of the holiday experience. Five respondents indicated that the inclusion of one's self or companions in the photograph would be the factor on which the photograph was judged

‘good’ or ‘bad’. If the image shows a flattering portrait of the individual it will add to the value of the picture and an unflattering portrait will likewise decrease the value. As one of these respondents said of a chosen photograph, *‘this is my husband standing in one of the famous squares, “Dam Square”. He is in the foreground, standing, looking very cold, with one of the typical cafes behind him. It was one of the open cafes with lots of chairs outside. You can also see some of the rest of the square in the background. I like it because it is a good photo of my husband! And, it shows a continental sort of style cafes and buildings’* (D4; F26).

In a limited number of cases the grouping of people in the foreground may differentiate multiple visits to a place. This is suggested by the following example, *‘this is Vanessa and myself standing in the Vatican museum on a balcony. You can see the Dome of St. Peters behind it and the gardens... We obviously asked a passer-by to take it for us. I like it because... this is really sentimental... I have a photo of my husband and I standing in the same spot on our honeymoon! (Laughing). And indeed I have a photograph of myself standing there in my teens with my parents. So, every time I go to Rome, someone takes a photo of us standing in that spot’* (C12; F42). While the classical scene remains relatively unchanged over a number of years, the images show the respondent as she moves from child to wife to mother, providing a personal context that can date and order the visits.

iii. Choice of subject

Photographs do not show what we would have seen if we had been there, but are rather a selective representation of reality, a system of visual editing in which one chooses from a

number of given possibilities (Sontag 1978: 192). It is impossible to photograph everything and the selection of images that one chooses is a personal matter, inspired by the features of a place or experience that one considers to be particularly important.

Even if two people have been on the same holiday their choice of 'special' images may differ. One particular couple illustrated this case. The husband, who was the main interviewee, chose three photographs of which his favourite was one of a narrow gauge railway. He explained, *'I have a model railway upstairs, and in this place you can go on a narrow gauge railway, so the railway pictures are really what bring back the memories for me... This is one of the railway, because I like the railway, and that is just about all there is to say about it'* (C20; M53). His selection was based on his personal interests in railways. The interest in railways both inspired visits to particular places and the desire to make a permanent record of the visiting experience. In contrast his wife, who had listened to the interview, complained that he had not chosen a photograph with any Gnomes in it. She went on to explain, *'every house had a Gnome; some were huge. There were Gnomes on balconies and they were peeping out of corners. It became a hobby, Gnome spotting'* (C20; F50).

Crang (1997: 370) states that there is a tendency for men to take photographs, which suggests that it is the masculine view of the holiday that is recorded. However, this was not apparent in the current study, with women often possessing their own camera or having a definite say in what was photographed where the camera was shared. As one woman commented, *'that was a streetlight. They were all like that. My husband thought*

that I was crazy wanting my photograph taken in front of it, but I just really liked it' (C22; F63). Although, in this case, it was the husband taking the photograph, the wife dictated the choice of subject.

In another interview the effect of each person having his or her own camera was mentioned. Although the same places are visited, different images may be chosen or similar images may be presented differently. *'We all take our own photographs so there is a considerable amount of duplication. My husband's photographs are generally considered the 'best'. They are mainly of views and architecture, void of people where possible. Our youngest daughter, in contrast, only takes pictures of people the place is far less significant'* (C24; F53). The husband's photographs were considered 'best' because they approximated a professional style and emphasized the importance of place, not because they were the respondent's favourites. The daughter (aged seventeen) took images that were of a personal nature and orientated towards the family. The respondent's own selection was a mixture of both styles.

Unfortunately, as couples and families were not interviewed about this subject the total extent to which this occurs cannot be gauged.

iv. Personal narratives

For some past cultural tourists the quality of the photographic image is less important than the memory that it inspires, a blurred image prompting the recall of a clear memory. Eleven respondents were conscious of the poor quality of at least one photograph that

they had chosen, but showed obvious enjoyment in the memory that it unlocked. *'It is not a particularly good picture, but it is what it reminds me of...'* (C12; F42) was a typical explanation. Another respondent explained of her chosen photograph, *'this is the view from the top of Vesuvius, it was windy and it wasn't particularly clear. That is the crater. I suppose as a photo it is really extremely boring! (Laughing) But it was something that we had wanted to see'* (D8; F47). Memory embellishes the picture despite the limitations of the media (Urry 1995).

To a person who has not shared the holiday experience, the personal narrative that the past cultural tourist provides reveals the importance of the image and animates the picture. Without the associated narrative the picture may seem of little value. One woman explained of a photograph, *'this is just a canopy of the Metropolis hotel in Prague, and it has got the most gorgeous Art Nouveau frontage. The streets were very narrow, and I couldn't get full onto it, so I just took a photograph of the canopy. It probably doesn't look very much there, but I can remember it being very ornate, and I just thought that it was gorgeous. So, to anybody else it probably wouldn't mean very much but to me... we were just wondering along and came across it, and it was lovely'* (C5, F29). The static photograph, which was also hampered by the technical problem of 'getting a good angle', captures neither the image nor the experience of seeing it. The respondent's memory vividly recalls both. For this reason the photograph's significance is hidden to others without the accompanying explanation.

Seven respondents made specific reference to the personal nature of photographs. Because of this the interpretation of an individual photograph may differ between two people who have been on the same holiday. As one woman explained, *'that was taken in the south of Germany. It is the highest mountain in the Black Forest. I think that I took that as much for my husband's sake because it is where he met his German friend when he was in his twenties and so it was a trip down memory lane for him. For me it is a splendid view. It was my first visit so it was new and special. We had a nice lunch up there...'* (C15; F59). It is the personal context in which a visit takes place and a photograph is taken that in turn creates a personal memory of that experience.

Due to the nature of an individual's memory a photographic image may gain significance over a period of time. When a place has been visited two or more times a photograph taken on one trip may trigger memories of the other visits. One woman, looking at a photograph of a hotel, recalled how she had seen it ten years previously and wanted to go there. It had been too expensive but she had taken a photograph of it from the outside. On the most recent trip she and her husband had eaten there and taken a photograph inside to remember the event (D3; F39). Having lost the recent set of photographs the first photograph acted as a memory prompt for both events.

The reason for taking a photograph and the memory that the image inspires may differ due to subsequent events. As one respondent explained, *'that was just the skinny bridge in Amsterdam... It was just after that that I had a dizzy spell. I had an inner ear problem later on that day and was violently ill. It was the Saturday that Scotland played South*

Africa. We watched some of it; we got cuffed of course. That was why I remember it now, but that is not why I took it. I just thought that it was a nice shot...just a very typical Amsterdam scene' (D15; M47). Personal events that occurred after this photograph was taken gives the image a different meaning to this respondent than it would have for other past cultural tourists who have visited the same place.

b. Narratives about experience

i. Introduction

Interviews with past cultural tourists suggest that the photographs taken during cultural holidays are most likely to prompt memories of an experiential nature. While looking at a single frozen image the memory of a whole series of events or images outside the picture may be recalled. Although the photograph shows a single point in time, taken in a second, the memory that it unlocks can span a much longer period lasting from a few minutes to a whole day or even an entire holiday (Botterill and Crompton 1987). The following is a typical example.

My husband is in the foreground, with his silly Australian hat on, and that is the Parthenon in the background, up on the Acropolis hill. There are lots of rocks round about, of which one or two I think were part of the Parthenon. I like it because it reminds me of the early morning we went up there. We got up there at half past eight when it was still quite cool; there weren't too many people. We just

wandered around on top of the Acropolis, reading our Lonely Planet guide and actually trying to imagine what it must have been like hundreds and thousands of years ago when people actually used to use it... Also we saw the soldiers going up. First thing in the morning; they march up. They marched up in very orderly fashion carrying the flag and then they get to the top and put their weapons down and sort of lounged around while someone sorted out the flag, which I thought was quite funny having watched them march up in such an orderly fashion. Then they stood to attention, put the flag up and then they got themselves together and marched away. But it certainly reminds me of the whole morning (D7; F29).

The static nature of the photograph means that it can be studied at leisure (Sontag 1978). As the past tourist looks at the photograph and thinks about the moment at which the picture was taken a chain of events may be remembered, one leading on to another. The photograph initially reminds the respondent of '*the early morning*', but by the end of the narration the photograph has become a reminder of '*the whole morning*'.

The photograph can only show a single view of a place while the memory recalls a series of images and events more akin to a film. The following example from an interview highlights this point.

The first photograph is of Katie at two and a half years old, sitting at a cafe in Prague, with sunglasses on her head. (Laughs). It captures a moment in time where she is playing and she is trying to be a tourist, seeing everybody with sunglasses on and wanting to put mine on. A particular thing happened at the time when we took this photograph. We were sitting having a drink outside the

café. It was a bright sunny day, as you can see the buildings are reflected in the café windows. This is what we were looking at, it was a beautiful church (pointing out reflection in window), and this was on a corner of a road. As we were sitting there two women came running past and got into a get-away car. Prague, although it is very big tourist attraction does have, or did at the time, have this element of danger and you could see that there were mafia style vehicles being driven around by dodgy characters. These women had obviously stolen something and they were driven off at high speed. So, at the same time as that being a quiet family moment it also brings back a memory of something exciting that happened (C5; F29).

While the photograph shows a happy scene of the family relaxing outside a café, they were looking at a scene that is only hinted at in the photograph. The memory of ‘*a sense of danger*’ and the event that embodied this is completely missing from the photographic image.

The memory can be eventful as the picture is static. It is perhaps for this reason that some individuals flick through a number of photographs taken a short time apart as they attempt to describe their experiences, as if the images were stills from a film. There is perhaps a fear that without showing all the photographs the listener will not get a full ‘picture’ of what happened. Five respondents used their photographs in this manner. One chose to discuss a set of photographs that contained approximately fifteen pictures narrated as a single story. An extract from this story is given below.

The village is called Kallikratis (photograph of the signpost). These were taken on the way up (four photographs). That was taken in the taverna (a photo of both husband and wife, taken by youngest son). These were some of the old buildings up there (about five). There were stories about the old buildings, stories from the Second World War. The Germans devastated that area and they killed hundreds of people in this valley. They killed all the women and the children. The men were up in the mountains, they were partisans trying to fight the Germans, but while they were away the German's killed their families (while narrating this has paused on a photograph of a monument in a grave yard). On this monument are the names of all the children, and their ages and of the women. There were all sorts of stories. These are some pictures of the gorge on the way up (again several) (D19; M52).

Another limitation of the photograph is that it only captures the visual (Pocock 1982). To recall the smell of a place or the taste of a meal the past tourist must rely on his or her memory. However, the image may prompt such a memory. For one female respondent a photograph showing her eating ice cream caused her to recall, *'I was eating chestnut flavoured ice cream, because it was a regional specialty. They grew a lot of chestnuts in the area and I can remember the taste of it'* (C16; F62).

In the current study photographs prompted memories of experiences that could be divided into three broad categories, these being 'authentic', 'learning' and 'relaxation'. As shown in the deductive composite model, it is possible for different areas of experience to

overlap. The examples discussed below are divided on the basis of which category appears to be dominant.

ii. The learning experience

Nineteen respondents chose one or more photographs of specific cultural attractions that were discussed in terms of a learning experience (in total twenty-five photographs). Sixteen respondents mentioned things that they had learnt in general cultural settings, but in such cases emphasis was placed on the authenticity of the place or culture and for this reason such examples are discussed in this chapter, section 3.3 below. All the specific cultural attractions photographed by past cultural tourists were of an historical nature and all but two showed exterior views of the place visited, perhaps because photography was not permitted inside museums and art galleries or because the tourists felt that taking photographs there was inappropriate.

The respondents expressed their interest in learning something through the use of phrases such as '*it was just fascinating*' (C10; M49). Historical facts were recalled in conjunction with the memory of being interested as in the following case where the facts learnt about the place are framed by summary sentences indicating the significance of the experience, the reason for it being memorable. '*This one is inside the Coliseum. It was so interesting. This was covered over* (indicating area of photograph). *This was the floor of the Coliseum, which would have had a cover over it (now open showing rooms below) and underneath was where they kept all the animals. And they actually had a lift, like a stage lift, which came up through, that was operated by the slaves. That was really fascinating*'

(C13; F64). In such instances photographs appear to act as notebooks recording the visiting experience.

Four respondents expressed a sense of awe at the historical sites that they had seen, '*it was astonishing*' (C11; F52); '*it was really impressive*' (C12; F42); '*it was just amazing*' (C23; F45), '*one felt very humble, as if your life was just was just a dot on the planet*' (C7; F61) There were also four mentions of how the site provoked an imagination of the past. One respondent said of a photograph taken at the fort at Cape St. Vincent '*you could imagine four hundred years earlier*' (C23; F45). In this regard the memories prompted by photographs are similar to those remembered spontaneously, as discussed in chapter three, section 3.

In all these examples remembered facts were recalled in conjunction with the memory of visiting the site and is therefore comparable with chapter three, section 3.1. The following explanation of a photograph, taken by a female respondent during a holiday to Italy, is typical.

This was a place that we hadn't expected to enjoy as much as we did. It is part of the university of Perugia and we went up to see the old church there (indicating top left hand bit of picture) And this (indicating the rest of the picture) was described as 'botanical gardens' but actually it turned out to be a lot more interesting than that, because they had recreated the old mediaeval herb gardens. So it was all divided up thematically, and there were further gardens beyond. Each section is highly symbolic of things like signs of the zodiac or the four

temperaments, old mediaeval concepts that were important to them. And, the herbs that were grown there were all according to their medicinal properties and their biblical symbolism. It could have layers and layers of meaning, the way it was planted out and what was planted, and they actually described that to you on plaques so that you could start to follow. So there were lots of things such as the tree of life, the ways of understanding life. So we spent a long time just exploring it and seeing what they were able to do. But, it was obviously used by the monks from the monastery attached to this church. And, it was right up at the top of the city, so you got this lovely view (indicating another photograph showing the view). I loved it. It was so quiet. There was no one else around. So, I have memories of that being very interesting and unexpected. A real find (C14; F53).

This highlights the importance of episodic memory and the context in which learning takes place (Falk and Dierking 1992; Masberg and Silverman 1993; McManus 1996; Stevenson 1991). This photograph was selected from a number of similar photographs all taken that day, the respondent saying ‘any of these would do’. Facts about mediaeval gardening are embedded in a memory of exploring the garden and appear to be triggered by any photograph taken during the visit. The picture of the garden also prompts the memory of the view, but the second photograph is introduced because the image is substantially different. In effect the picture of the view is used to prove to the listener how beautiful it was. The respondent then reverts to the first picture, and recalls the overall experience of visiting the garden in terms of the mood and feelings that it aroused.

iii. The authentic experience

Authenticity is a problematic concept due to the fluidity of its definition (Wang 1999; chapter four). In this chapter the 'authentic' is taken to mean indications of traditional or everyday culture that have not been disrupted by tourists. Certain national monuments or features may also be considered 'authentic' if there is a strong metonymic connection between them and the cultural whole. The term 'authenticity' is used in contrast to 'inauthenticity', which is used to mean the fake, the reconstructed and the undifferentiated. Twenty-eight respondents selected one or more photographs (in total forty-seven photographs) that showed images of everyday life and local events, or festivals and parades. Such pictures were valued because they were '*traditional*', '*typical*', '*representative*', '*quite common in the area*', or '*different to Britain*'.

In some cases the authenticity of the photographed scene was obviously determined by images that had been seen before the trip. This is also seen to be a factor in the choice of souvenirs (see chapter six, section 3.2) and the evaluation of authentic places (see chapter four, section 4.1). These images were then sought out and in turn photographed, forming a hermeneutic circle (Albers and James 1988: 136). One respondent explained, '*what excited me about Paris was the way the Eiffel Tower dominated the landscape. This is just a photograph of me standing in the staircase; the background is all the wrought iron work structure. I did like the Eiffel Tower. It dominated the landscape and it is definitely something that you associate with Paris. I think it is a remarkable piece of engineering. We walked up to the second floor - the challenge of walking up and enjoying the views*' (D24; F30). The Eiffel Tower is, for many people, synonymous with Paris and a trip to see Paris is not complete without a visit to the Eiffel Tower and the photographic

evidence of this visit. Although it was not clear from the photograph that this was an image of the Eiffel Tower that was clearly the photograph's significance to the respondent. (Another photograph within this respondent's collection included the 'typical' image of the Eiffel Tower against the horizon.) The personal nature of the visit is conveyed in the photograph through the use of emplacement, while the narrative contains personal details of the visit. In this manner the photograph reaffirms the tourist's identity within the recognised scene (Sontag 1978).

Over time the image of a place may change as may the photographic opportunities (Urry 1990). For many years Berlin was associated with the Berlin Wall, however since its demolition cultural tourists have had to seek other signs of authenticity. A respondent who had visited Berlin selected a photograph explaining, *'this is of a church that was bombed during the war. Basically they have left it as a reminder of what happened and they have built a modern church right beside it. I thought it was very symbolic...I think if we had found a bit of the Berlin wall, we would have taken a photograph of that, but you can't find any of that now. It is all gone, so that to us was the next sort of thing to take'* (C19; F30). The other sign of authenticity captured by this couple was the extensive building work, interpreted as evidence of the reconnection of the two halves of the city and therefore an apt symbol of how meanings have been reversed.

Six respondents took photographs of images that they considered to be unusual or different, specifically because they had not seen something like that before. It was therefore an interesting subject at the time and potentially something of interest to share

with friends and family on return home. As objects that were exotic or strange they were considered a worthy subject of photography (Albers and James 1988). Again, this is an important factor in gauging the authenticity of place (see chapter four, section 4.3) and in choosing souvenirs (see chapter six, section 3.3)

On the other hand seeing similar features several times was used as a means of gauging authenticity when other information was lacking. One respondent explained of an image, *'these are very typical edges to the fields. They are completely flat stones about two foot six high. They almost look like gravestones. They use them to edge all the fields. That was really weird, they had them everywhere; they were quite common. And sometimes they had got taken away for something else and they were like teeth, round the field standing up'* (D2; F52). If seen once the scene may not be worthy of a photograph, or it may be photographed because it is unusual. Having been seen a number of times it becomes a sign of the typical.

In nine cases respondents chose a photograph because it depicted the mood and prompted memories of the atmosphere in a place. One male respondent chose a photograph saying, *'I particularly like this one because it is all misty. It really captures the feel of the place'* (D12; M72). Another respondent explained, *'this one really emphasizes the way that Venice is built onto the water. That is my abiding memory of Venice, the blue of the Lagoon, with the white of the buildings and the blue sky above, very stark. That and the teeming life you see around it... just the general ambience of the place was really nice'* (D10; M43). In such cases the 'feel' of the place seems to add to the sense of place and

its authenticity, while the scenes are also appreciated for their aesthetic appeal. Again this is comparable to spontaneous memory (see chapter four, section 4.5).

In sixteen cases there was evidence that the respondent had learnt something about the place or culture that they had visited, often through an accidental glimpse of daily life (compare to chapter three, section 3.3). One respondent had a photograph of a traditional wedding procession. She elaborated, '*all that embroidery (indicating the picture of women and men walking along a street) apparently you can tell which valley a girl comes from by the patterns embroidered on her dress... The type of headgear shows whether the woman is married, unmarried or widowed. And, they have the most incredible jewelry too. Nowadays I think they just hire it, most families couldn't afford to own it, gold and silver... I particularly like seeing local costumes, when we went to Portugal we saw lots of dancers in the traditional dress, very colourful. It is nice to see the differences between countries* (D18; F70). This example of learning also demonstrates how individuals may gain an appreciation of other cultures through the participation in cultural tourist (Economic and Social Committee 1990; Pearce 1977; 1981). Reviewing photographs may extend this sense of appreciation.

The photograph may not actually be of an authentic event to be a reminder of one. As in other cases the memory that a photograph inspires may continue far beyond the frame of the photograph. For example, one woman, looking at a photograph of her daughter and husband posed in front a huge fern in a botanical garden particularly remembered the journey home on the bus afterwards, '*I can remember on the bus, there was a woman*

with her son and he was so sweet with Iona smiling and waving to her. Some of the houses were very wealthy around there and I had the impression that she was a cleaner. We saw her on the bus in the morning and when we got back on the bus, after I don't know how many hours, she was back on the same bus. We shared the same journey and so I felt that we saw a bit of what Madeira life was like' (C8; F35).

It is also possible for photographs to reveal an experience to be less authentic than the tourist believed it to be (parallels can be seen with chapter four section 5.1). Three respondents took photographs of 'traditional' or 'historical' parades, apparently unaware that they may have been staged for the tourists. For one respondent '*cows dressed up with bells and things*' signalled a '*very local event*'. However, banners in the parade said 'Welcome', in English and several other languages, suggesting that they were designed with a wider audience in mind.

Alternatively the photograph may show an apparently local scene, which the tourist remembers to have been inauthentic. One respondent who had visited Paris recalled of a photograph, '*this is a man making crepes... He is basically a tourist crepe maker but it was quite interesting to watch him do it. It was just a sort of privilege to watch him make this traditional dish. You know, he is pouring the hot batter on the pan, but it was strictly for tourists, I didn't see any French people going up there*' (C4; F28). The narrative betrays the apparently authentic event but shows that the tourist is aware of what features signal authenticity.

In other cases the authentic experience is signalled by the guidebook and translated into a photograph as proof that the recommended activities have indeed been done (Sontag 1978; Edwards 1992). A female respondent laughed at herself for having 'been there, done that, got the photograph'. She explained, *'this one is of the toboggans. The toboggan ride was actually... they say it is meant to be wonderful and I think a good few years ago it might have been. It started at the top and went all the way down to Funchal, but of course the traffic has got a bit heavier now and so you have got to stop, every time you come to a cross roads to check to see if there are any cars, so every time you built up any speed you had to stop... But it was one of those things, you go there and you do it and that is it. If you have done it once, you don't need to do it again!'* (Laughing) (D8; F47). Although an obvious tourist feature the toboggan ride could not be missed because it was promoted as an experience unique to Funchal. It was an experience that would differentiate this holiday from holidays in other places and to miss it would have resulted in an incomplete experience of Funchal.

iv. The relaxing experience

While the whole cultural holiday may be considered a relaxing experience by most cultural tourists (see chapter five) certain photographic images focus on specific moments of relaxation or prompt memories of having a particularly relaxing time. Twenty-five respondents chose at least one such photograph (in total thirty-eight photographs of this type were selected).

In the majority of these pictures emplacement played an important role. Pictures that showed the respondent and their companions sitting in a café or similar environment, enjoying company and surroundings were particularly common. A table setting, often out of doors, seems to symbolize both relaxation and companionship. In other cases respondents made specific mention that a passer-by had taken the photograph and in these photographs all members of the holiday group were pictured to express the sociable nature of the holiday experience. The following example was typical; *'this is a photo of my husband and I together, sitting on a park bench in a park near our accommodation. I can't remember the name of the park. A passer-by took it for us. It has a lovely background, green grass, and large trees, with a small stream. We are sitting laughing on the bench. I like it because of the scenery and the fact that we look jolly and are having a good time'* (D4; F26). The other important feature of these photographs was that they showed people to be enjoying themselves. This was primarily conveyed through the smiling faces of the individual's pictured, as in the example above. Enjoying bright and warm weather was another indication of 'having a good time' (compare to chapter five, section 5.4, and chapter six, section 4.2), as was the presence of food or the empty plates at the end of a meal. In a few cases pictures showing paths reminded the respondent of 'peaceful' or 'relaxing' walks that had been taken, again the good weather was emphasized. As suggested by Urry (1990), there is a conscious attempt to capture the 'best' parts of the holiday and convention dictates that these images represent enjoyment and relaxation.

In the majority of cases the memories prompted by these images were confined to the event pictured, thus representing a period of time lasting from a few minutes to an hour or two. However, some pictures did inspire a brief mention of the holiday as a whole, as in the following case.

This is Vanessa. She is sitting having her breakfast outside... a yellow villa. This was the last morning of the holiday. We were just about to fly back. I just remember the idea of sitting in the spring, outside, eating breakfast at seven o'clock in the morning. I remember saying to Vanessa "Just remember this, because at mid day you are going to be back in Edinburgh and it is going to be raining!" It was just a nice memory, and there we were having breakfast outside. It was just really nice, and it was a lovely place as well on the hill above Florence. Just nice thoughts, the whole holiday had been such a success (C12; F42).

In such cases the photograph was seen as typifying or summing up the whole holiday experience. One respondent mentioned that a photograph of him sitting by the swimming pool was '*just indicative of the holiday, the weather and surroundings*' (C10; M49). For another respondent a relaxed scene was '*more like the holiday really was*' (D21; F50), as opposed to a list of places visited.

In six cases pictures of accommodation were chosen and discussed in terms of the happy memories or relaxing experiences associated with them. These pictures were notably different to the ones discussed above because people were absent from them. They inspired more general memories. The following example was typical; '*this is our friend's*

house in the Black Forest and the approach to it. It means time spent with friends and a lot of happy memories' (C15; F59).

v. Conclusions about remembered experiences

The experiential memories prompted by photographs can be divided into categories in a similar fashion to spontaneous memories. Again remembering learning, authenticity and relaxation emerged as the three main concerns of the cultural tourist.

It was found that learning experiences were most likely to be prompted by images of specific cultural attractions. General cultural settings also produced the recollection of learnt information but were equally concerned with issues of authenticity. This echoes the findings in chapter three, which showed learning within specific cultural attractions to be more focused. It also highlights how different categories of experience may overlap. As in the case of spontaneous memory, photographs prompted experiential memories that were expressed through narratives. Learnt information was recalled in conjunction with the experience of learning, and the emotions or feeling that the learning experience inspired were of particular importance.

When reviewing 'authentic' photographs past cultural tourists indicate signs of authenticity in a similar manner to those mentioned in spontaneous accounts. Signs of the 'traditional', 'typical' and 'local' were particularly valued. Some past cultural tourists found it difficult to recognize the inauthentic and classified staged events as authentic,

others recognized when events were staged for tourists. As discussed in chapter four this was probably due to individual's personal awareness of such issues.

The relaxing experiences were most commonly recalled when looking at photographs of people 'having a good time', in cafés, restaurants or by swimming pools. Taking a walk was another image that reminded respondents of relaxing, being itself a relaxing activity. The high incidence of family groups or partners being photographed together suggests 'family bonding' and an enjoyment of doing things together as discussed in chapter five, section 5.3.

Importantly no photographs were chosen that prompted bad memories. Frustrations at attractions, disappointments, the intrusive presence of other tourists, problems with language or substandard accommodation were not mentioned. As suggested in chapter five, section 5.4 this may be because people make a concerted effort to forget disappointments that occur during a holiday, only happy memories are saved with Kodak (Taylor 1994: 140-141). It is likely that cultural tourists choose not to photograph evidence of 'having a bad time'. If an attraction is below expectation it is not photographed, dull views are not worthy of a picture and the sulky child is cajoled into smiling for the photograph (Albers and James 1988; Urry 1990). A further selection may be made when photographs are placed in an album (Belk 1988). If the 'best' photographs are selected for an album, pictures that prompt a disappointing memory are less likely to be selected. The same may be true when respondents are asked to select a limited number

of photographs during an interview. Past tourist may recall bad memories if prompted to do so, but not by choice.

c. Benefits of remembering through photographs

7.4.1. Introduction

The model of remembered experience suggests that people take photographs because of the benefits that are gained from doing so (see figure 7.1.). The section below considers the benefits of having a set of photographs rather than relying on spontaneous memory and whether people make the most of the potential benefits that photographs offer the returned traveller.

7.4.2. Photographs as illustrations and memory prompts

One benefit of photographs is the enjoyment many people gain from looking at them. Four respondents mentioned the excitement that they felt when the photographs were processed and how one rushed to look at them. They might subsequently be reviewed a number of times with family or friends, providing an opportunity to 'relive' the holiday. They are then put away in an album, or more likely still in the packet, and often forgotten for some time. The past tourist will occasionally retrieve the collection and browse through the photographs while reminiscing. As one respondent said, this is the 'real value' of photographs (D1; M64). Often the rediscovery is accidental; caused by a

general clear out or a search for something else. As another respondent said, *'there is a whole box of photographs in the attic and sometimes when I go up there to look for something I come across them. It is nice to lose yourself in memories for half an hour or so'* (D14; M42). Photographs provide a means of accessing memories and escaping from reality, which if accidental, may be considered very similar to the spontaneous recall of memories (see chapter five, section 5.2). However, in theory, if photographs are organised (see this chapter, section 4.3 below) they provide memory prompts that be easily accessed, unlike spontaneous memories that may rely on the subject of a conversation or encountering a particular situation to spark a recall.

A set of photographs can prompt general memories of a holiday and, as illustrated above, often an image will inspire the recall of more than is shown by the picture. As memory prompts, photographs can be enhanced by annotation, and seven respondents did this. Such notes provided an additional memory prompt, in case the relevance of the image had been forgotten. Place names and dates are most likely to be forgotten and so it is unsurprising that these are the details most often recorded. Such information is also brief and therefore relatively easy to record. However, other keynotes may prompt vivid experiential triggers, as the following example shows:

This is of Amsterdam and the bikes. The buildings were fascinating. A nice city; such an individual city. I suppose it is quite a picture postcard picture, of all the tall buildings and canals. (Pausing to read the annotation in the album.) "That was the day that the Netherlands beat Argentina in the World Cup." (Entering into a new train of thought.) The atmosphere in Amsterdam was incredible. We

were walking through the fruit market and you could hear them cheering from the tall buildings... and then when they won the buses were going 'peep-peep' and people were hugging and scarves were flying. It was a great atmosphere. It really was. (Turning the page to look for additional information and finding a date.) "The fourth of July." There you are, the fourth of July (C15; F59).

It is also possible for a sight of the static image of the photograph to fix an image of a place and the memory associated with it. One respondent said, *'I think that photographs really help me enforce the memory of a place. And I think that I remember things that I have got photographs of better than things that I don't. They just visually imprint things on the mind, more than just seeing the original'* (C14; F53). The photograph provides a means of seeing a place for a second time, a means of becoming familiar with the unfamiliar. Eventually it may be that the photographic image can be recalled spontaneously along with the associated memories, as in the case of one respondent who mislaid a set of photographs and yet was apparently able to recall each image that had been produced and explain the significance of each (C10; M49). Another respondent explained, *'I always go back and look at them... I can remember certain photographs very well'* (C8; F35).

Another obvious advantage of having a set of photographs is that they allow one to show other people what a place was like and what one did there. The visual impressions that holiday photographs provide are a convenient means of illustrating a travel story. Eight respondents took a photograph of their holiday accommodation primarily *'to show what it*

was like' (C1; F74). One respondent explained, *'this was the hotel we stayed in. We were in the second to top flat. I usually seem to take a photo of where we stayed. Not that it's particularly important, but it is useful when you are trying to explain to people what it was like'* (D1; M64). This appears to suggest that such photographs are taken to satisfy the curiosity of others.

The inclusion of pictures in the travel narrative also means that there may be less reliance on verbal skills. The photograph can be used to point out aspects of the image, or the way features relate to one another that are difficult to describe using words alone. The following narrative is typical of this.

When you come back, it is sometimes difficult to explain to people the physical scale and nature of the place...what we see here is Naples, from the top of Mount Etna. [Close up of wife's head and hazy view behind]. We had climbed to the top on a very clear day, although as time went on it got a bit foggy up near the top. So what we see is a panorama of Naples, which gives you an idea of the scale of the place. It seemed to me when I was driving through it, when the coach was driving through it, that it was never ending. To come back and try to explain it to people, just the scale of Naples, and just how sprawling it was, I just thought that this was a photograph that depicted it quite clearly (C6; M37).

By showing a photograph of the place, listeners can 'see for themselves' what the place is like and the need to explain details is curtailed. Thus, it is easier to convey the story.

In some cases the verbal narration may be severely shortened with the returned traveller literally flipping through the photographs saying a few words about each photograph and leaving the listener to enquire further if they are interested. This strategy may be employed to overcome the fear of boring the audience but can be counterproductive because, as discussed above, the significance of many images is not intrinsic, but rather is based in the text that surrounds them.

7.4.3. Context of display and non-display

Most cultural tourists take photographs when they travel to Europe. In the current study only three out of fifty respondents did not. The cultural tourist is likely to return with a large number of pictures, between thirty and two hundred depending on the length of the holiday. This poses the question of how they are organized, stored and accessed.

As with other types of souvenir, photographs need to be revered through ritual if they are to maintain their significance and usefulness as memory prompt (Belk 1989). Although the majority of people claim to value their photographs as reminders of a holiday, frequently the photographs are returned to their packets having been looked at a couple of times. The packets may be kept in a specific box or drawer, but are equally likely to be put in a number of different places around the house. Without some organization sets of photographs may be lost. Of the twenty-nine respondents who stored their photographs in this manner five had had considerable difficulty locating their holiday photographs for the interview and in two cases respondents had been unable to find them at all. As one respondent said, *'I don't think that they have a very ordered place actually, some are kept*

in here (the living room) and others are in the bedroom, in between the books and then we wonder why we can't find them!' (C14; F53). In some cases this may be due to a lack of consideration as to what will happen to the photographs on the return home. They are taken because *'you almost feel you have to take photographs'* (A25; F48) as part of the holiday ritual. This suggests that taking photographs is an impulsive act and what will happen to the images is not considered.

However, some respondents regretted that they did not get the optimal benefit from the photographs because they were too difficult to access. The prevailing opinion was that to make the most of one's photographs a select number should be put in an album. As one respondent said, *'there is no doubt that if you can find the time, it is a question of finding the time, you do enjoy them much more, because then you get rid of all the dross. The albums I do have, I do like. (Do you think you would be more likely to look at them if they were in albums?) Yes, I think so, because it would be easier'* (C24; F53). Another woman explained, *'I think if they are in a packet you don't look at them as much, whereas if they are in nice book, with good presentation, you are more tempted to pick it up and browse through it from time to time'* (D25; F30).

Thirteen respondents expressed the intent to put their photographs in an album at some stage, although the likelihood of this happening was variable. As in the example above, a number of respondents claimed that although it was a nice idea they simply did not have time to organize their photographs. This would be further compounded as subsequent holidays generated more photographs. However, even when there is apparently time to do

so other activities may take priority, or it may be too daunting a task to contemplate. *'I sort of think that when we retire and have nothing better to do I will pick some out and put them into albums, but actually I doubt that I will ever do it. I have got bundles of them'* (B19; F50). In contrast to the ease and speed of taking photographs, sorting and making sense of old photographs may require considerable time and effort.

A further ten respondents claimed that they usually put their photographs into albums, but had not as yet done so. In five cases respondents said that they were about two years behind, but in two cases photographs had been waiting in their packets for ten years. It seems unlikely that such photographs will ever make it into albums. However, five respondents said that they have occasional binges in which they sorted out their photographs rather than dealing with them on a regular basis, *'about once every ten years or so we have a major clear out. You have to, because the drawer gets too full!'* (D15; M57).

An additional challenge to storing and accessing photographs is that few are discarded. Whether or not photographs are transferred into an album or left in their packets people seem remarkably reluctant to throw any photographs away. Of the thirty-five respondents who commented on how they sorted their photographs, eleven (thirty one percent) said that they would not discard any photographs at all. Six other respondents (seventeen percent) said that they would only discard the photographs that were blank or blurred. One of these respondents said, *'I would only throw out complete duds. I don't make a selection of good and bad ones, I like the whole range of memories to be there'* (C14;

F53). This suggests that there is a potential for photographs to prompt negative memories when the collection is viewed as a whole. However, a careful selection of 'good' memories may be made at the site, to minimise this occurrence (Urry 1990; 1995). Thus, negative meanings may result from broader associations triggered by the image, rather than by the memory that the image intended to capture (see this chapter, section 2.4 above). Photographs are not thrown out in the fear that events and places will be forgotten if the images are not kept as memory prompts. The photographs may also be considered to be metonyms of the original, so throwing such photographs away would be a deliberate act separating one's self from the past.

Thirteen respondents (thirty-seven percent of those who commented) said that they would also throw out duplicates, the 'best' photograph of several similar ones being kept. In such cases the 'best' photograph is judged on technical merit and the apparent enjoyment of any family members included in the image. However, there are limits to this selection process. Six respondents indicated that pictures of places might be thrown away, but there was a particular reluctance to dispose of pictures that contained images of close family members, *'I can't bear to throw photographs away. I prefer to send the whole lot to my mother in law. The ones that are duplicates and anything that is half decent I send to her for her amusement, rather than throw them away. There is something about throwing photographs away of my nearest and dearest away. It seems awful. I just can't do it'* (A25; F48). As Sontag (1978) suggests, this appears to be due to the strong metonymic relationship between the person and the image. *'I never discard a photograph, but I will slip it in underneath another one.* (Is there a particular reason for

that?) *It is unlucky. If it is of just something and it is blurry, then I will throw it away, but I will never throw away a photo with a person in it. That is something from childhood* (D21; F50). For another respondent throwing out pictures of friends was symbolic of having lost contact with them and no longer having a reason to keep a memento of that friendship; throwing out such pictures was associated with feelings of guilt and regret.

It is perhaps for these reasons that even if a photograph album only displays a limited collection of pictures, a large box of unsorted packets is likely to lurk in a cupboard or attic. The 'best' photographs may be selected for an album. Where there are several near identical pictures, often taken by the same person at the same time, the best photograph is chosen on the basis of technical quality and the apparent happiness of any people pictured. However, other photographs will remain in packets, to embellish the memory of past holidays or to avoid the guilt associated with throwing them out.

Crang (1997: 370) says that there is a tendency for women to control the context in which photographs are displayed. This appeared to concur with the current study, in which only two respondents indicated that it was the husband's responsibility. For this reason, it appears to be women who have the final word in which photographs are selected and by implication which memories are prompted. As one male respondent commented as he considered the photograph album, *'my wife did that... sometimes she discusses it with me and says, "what do you think of this photograph?" We sometimes discuss it and come to a compromise. Usually I can rely on her taste'* (D23; M30).

In the nineteen cases where photographs were kept in albums, all were kept in chronological order. This is an order that requires the least effort to arrange, being the order in which the photographs were taken and the prints produced, and one that has a logical sequence. Often this overlaps with a 'place by place' account, as tourists visit one place after another. If places were returned to, some past tourists will deviate from the chronological order when displaying the photographs so that pictures of a place are all grouped together. However, photographs are generally displayed in an order that encourages a diary, or day-by-day, account of the holiday. This correlates with the way in which some people spontaneously recall their holidays and it is possible that the presentation of photographs in a chronological order encourages this.

Only seven respondents annotated their photographs. This was done in an attempt to remember more details about places that had been visited, or to remember the significance of the photograph for a longer period of time. As one respondent said, '*I knew that I might eventually get muddled up having seen so much in a short while, so I thought that I had better. Things like a little well, or a church or of the back streets, they all look the same at the end of the day... As soon as I got them developed I knew where they were and so I wrote it down. Probably in a year I would have forgotten. You see here is one of a cloister and looking at that I have to think quite hard, if I had to guess I would say that it was Todi. Yes it is (turning it over to check), but it didn't come to me immediately, so I am glad that I wrote it down*' (C14; F53). For those who did not annotate their photographs it was considered a time-consuming discipline, which like putting photographs in albums, was a good idea but unlikely to happen. In reply to the

question of whether she annotated her photographs, one respondent replied typically, *'No, I wish I did. I have a friend who does that... and I think it is really good, but it takes me all my time just to get them into the folder'* (C5; F29).

In a limited number of cases photographs from cultural holidays are displayed in frames. However, these photographs are rarely selected for their interesting locations or attractive scenes, but rather for the people pictured in them. Most commonly these represent children as they grow up. As one respondent explained, *'there are a couple of photographs in the hall, which were taken when we were in Morocco, but that is just because they are a couple of nice photographs. But they are of us, rather than the place. You wouldn't know where we were. I would never display a photograph of a place'* (D21; F50). The holiday is a convenient time for the photograph to be taken, a time when events are recorded on camera unlike every day life, but when displayed the place is considered to be incidental.

Generally respondents seemed to be quite reticent about showing other people their photographs. Nine respondents mentioned that it was a reciprocal office tradition to show photographs when one returned, but generally it was feared that photographs would bore other people. They were only shown if interest was expressed in them. One respondent was particularly defensive. When asked if she showed her photographs to other people she replied, *'No! We are not like one member of our family who does that. As soon as they are home all their photos are into an album, and it goes around to everybody to show off all their photographs. But we don't... Holiday snaps are, I think, very personal'*

(C23; F45). Photographs that contain people in them are more personal than those that depict general scenes and while emplacement may make photographs better souvenirs it may also limit the realms in which the past tourist feels happy to share them. Personal photographs should, by implication, be kept for personal viewing, not general consumption. Also, unlike spontaneous memories, which can be shared casually in conversation and elaborated if interest is shown, taking out an album or packet of holiday photographs is a more deliberate activity. Unless a specific photograph is being found to illustrate a point, going through the set of photographs may require greater time and attention of the listener than a verbal account. In all cases sharing photographs with people outside the immediate family was an activity restricted to the period immediately after one's return home. Looking at photographs later on was something that one did alone or with one's children.

7.4.4 Concluding comments about the benefits of taking photographs

The above sections have shown that photographs have a number of benefits. Some benefits are consciously sought and may motivate people to take photographs. Other benefits appear to be latent or coincidental. Cultural tourists appear to make a conscious effort to take photographs to remember the holiday by. Some feel that is something that must be done as an integral part of the holiday but, more than that, there is the personal enjoyment of looking at photographs and reminiscing, having returned home. Photographs are also kept as memory prompts that in theory can be easily accessed. Some cultural tourists seem to make an effort to take photographs to satisfy the curiosity of others, showing what a place looked like and what was done on holiday. Additional

'benefits', which appear to be more coincidental, are the possibility that photographs help to 'fix' images in the memory and the ability to shorten a verbal narrative by introducing pictures.

Many of the benefits that photographs offer are only enjoyed shortly after the holiday. Once they have been shown to other people, they are frequently put away and forgotten. Holiday photographs soon move into the personal realm and are no longer shared with other people. To continue to provide benefit they need to be accessed. This generally requires some degree of organization but in the majority of cases photographs remain unsorted. The hesitancy to throw out photographs may lead to a dis-benefit as, over the years, photographs continue to accumulate and start vying for storage space with other objects.

7.5 Postcards as supplementary photographs

Fourteen respondents said that they collected postcards on holiday to supplement their collection of photographs. One reason for this was the uncertainty that a set of photographs had been achieved, as one respondent said, '*one thing I do tend to buy is a couple of post cards, just in case the photographs don't come out*' (D8; F47). Another respondent explained, '*I bought the postcards just in case the photographs didn't come out. (Do you often do that?) Yes. I suppose I do. One year none came out at all, so I have bought postcards as a safety measure ever since*' (D18; F70). This concern to have a visual record of the holiday highlights the importance of pictorial images as memory

prompts. Postcards were also collected if conditions made it inappropriate to take a photograph, such as when the tourist felt self-conscious carrying a camera (D6; F53), or in a gallery where tourists were asked not to take photographs (C24; F53, D6; F53).

Postcards were also bought if they were thought to have better photographic images than the tourist would be able to produce with their own camera. This might be because the photograph had been taken using specialist equipment: *'some of them are special, like that one which has been with a fish eye lens... you could never get a picture like that yourself'* (C24; F53), or due to lighting and weather conditions, *'we buy postcards of things that we didn't get photographs of, either because the light wasn't good enough or because the weather was wrong'* (D23; M30).

Postcards tended to be displayed in the same manner as photographs. A few respondents had incorporated postcards into a photograph album, but most commonly they were kept in drawers in the bag with which they were purchased. One respondent said, *'they are all over the place in drawers. I come across them very now and then and think, "oh I remember that"'* (B21; F50) Another commented, *'we often bring back postcards, which are stored just like photographs. They lie one on top of each other'* (C21; F66).

However, just like the photographs that they supplement, they are appreciated for the experiential memories that they arouse, *'from time to time I just go through them and enjoy looking at them... they are all kinds of pictures, which I just love to have and I remember where I saw the original. They are from all the tiny churches in tiny villages*

and towns. It is just very easy to remember where they were. I just love that kind of thing'
(C14; F53).

7.6. Conclusions

As in the preceding chapters, this chapter is based on the deductive composite model, which is illustrated in figure 7.1 and the inductive composite model illustrated in figure 7.2. The text elaborates the latter model in an attempt to provide an understanding of past tourist's memories of their European holidays.

As in previous chapters, it was shown that the personal context plays an important role in the memory of cultural holidays through photographs. It was noted that emplacement was important for a number of respondents because it provided a means of conveying the unique experience of place by the family group or individual. This is one reason why some tourists prefer photographs rather than profession images offered on postcards. As with spontaneous memory and memories prompted by souvenirs, some respondents were motivated to take photographs because of their particular interests. As these interests may differ from one person to another it was shown that two individuals who have been on the same holiday might select different images to focus on if their interests differ. Thus, despite the social context of the holiday, the personal context remains dominant.

In addition to this the photograph, as with other types of souvenir (see chapter six), may contain different meanings for different people. Although the meaning of the visual image may appear obvious to the onlooker, this is often not the case as the photograph is

likely to prompt memories of events and experiences that take place outside the frame of the picture. Similarly, apparently dull images may be valued because they inspire vivid memories of a visit. The personal narrative (as the closest approximation to the memory accessible) that accompanies a set of photographs, or individual images is therefore vital in understanding the meaning and value of holiday photographs.

As in previous chapters it was found that photographs from European cultural holidays prompt predominantly experiential memories. As with spontaneous memories of past holidays, photographs could be divided into three broad categories, these being memories of learning experiences, memories of authentic experiences and memories of relaxing experiences. Memories prompted by photographs are therefore more similar to spontaneous memories than those prompted by 'special' souvenirs. The overlap between photographs and spontaneous memories is furthered by the manner in which photographs seem to be used to illustrate spontaneous memories as well as being used as memory prompts. The impulse to be assured of a collection of images of a place leads some people to purchase postcards. These act as supplementary photographs and are collected and stored in a similar manner. However because they lack the 'personal' quality that differentiates photographs they are not considered sufficient on their own.

The theme of 'having a good time' (see chapters five and six) was reiterated, respondents creating proof of a happy event through the incorporation of smiling faces and other signs of relaxation. As respondents were asked to select only three or four photographs from a set, it is probably unsurprising that negative incidents were not recalled.

In terms of benefits, sets of holiday photographs were enjoyed for the memories that they inspired. Photographs also acted as proof that the visit had taken place and as such were useful in narrating the individual's life-story to others. As with other forms of tangible memory, it is possible for photographic images to enhance an individual's social status if they provide 'proof' that certain approved experiences have been achieved. However, in the majority of cases, photographs are looked on the return home and then put away, suggesting that the primary motive for taking photographs is to prolong the personal memory of the holiday. For further benefit to be derived from them as memory prompts they need to be easily accessible and this requires that they are organized in some manner, either stored in a designated place or put into albums. Annotating photographs may prolong the period in which details about a place and experience are remembered. Many people do not appear to get optimal benefit from their holiday photographs because they do not have sufficient time or motivation to organize them.

Discussion and Conclusions

8.1. Introduction

This chapter relates back to chapter one, which provided a literature review, and considers how the points raised within that chapter have been developed by the current study, the results of which were described in chapters three to seven. Through this approach this chapter aims to show how the initial research aims, outlined in the introduction, have been satisfied. This chapter also provides an indication of how the research might be used from the perspective of marketing and managing cultural tourism, considers some of the limitations of the current study and offers suggestions for areas of future research.

8.2. Cultural tourism, understanding and sustainability

One aim of the current research project was to consider the role holiday memories might play in past tourists' appreciation of other cultures (see chapter one section 2). The idea that tourism may lead to increased understanding between different nationalities has been extensively discussed in the literature (Litvin 2000). Proponents of tourism's benefits argue that travel can develop an appreciation for other cultures, break down the boundaries between nations and may even be an important element in establishing world peace (Economic and Social Committee 1990; D'Amore 1988; Knopf 1991; Moscardo 1996). The opposite view argues that, as travel becomes a mass phenomenon, tourism is more likely to enforce stereotypes rather than broaden people's perspectives (Krippendorf

1987) and that the brief nature of holiday visits does not allow any substantial level of understanding to be created (MacCannell 1976; 1992). However, the majority of this discussion lacks empirical support (Litvin 2000) and the current study therefore provides useful data with which to further discuss the complexities of this debate.

Cultural tourism is perhaps better suited to developing understanding and cultural tolerance than the traditional beach or family holiday as, in common with other forms of 'new' tourism, cultural tourism tends to involve independent travel and greater integration with the host community (Poon 1993; 1994; Bywater 1993). Involving both visits to specific cultural attractions (see chapter three, section 3.1) and a more general surveillance of cultural settings and every day life (see chapter, three section 3.2 and chapter four, section 4.6), cultural tourism is more likely to encourage individuals to explore the local community than to remain in a tourist 'ghetto'. The type of person who is attracted to cultural tourism may also contribute to the degree of understanding that is achieved. Not only are cultural tourists more likely to be endowed with higher levels of cultural capital than the 'average' tourist, which aids the appreciation of cultural assets (Richards 1996; Prentice 1994; 1996; Crompton 1993; Argle 1994), they also show a desire to learn about places (see chapter three), to develop their understanding of cultures (section chapter three, section 4.2) and to discover an 'authentic' experience of place through an exploration of non-tourist places (see chapter four, section 4.6).

The data gathered in the current study showed that cultural tourists do learn about and develop an appreciation for the places that they visit, and that these aspects play an important role in past tourists' memories of their holidays (see chapter three and chapter

four). However, the data also provided evidence that the degree of cultural understanding that is achieved may be restricted due to a variety of factors.

MacCannell (1976; 1992) suggests that the level of understanding that is produced is likely to be superficial owing to the brevity of the tourist's visit. In the current instance, visits tended to be between two days and two weeks in length, depending on whether it was the main holiday or a secondary break. Furthermore, although not true of all, the majority of cultural tourists did not expect to return to the area, although most had enjoyed their visit, because they preferred to add to their list of places visited rather than returning to gain a more in-depth experience of place (see chapter four, section 2.1). Those tourists who have brief one-off visits may be more likely to visit a list of specific cultural sites that they feel they 'must see' (see chapter three, section 3.1) and this may be at the expense of getting to know a place more intimately at a relaxed pace (see chapter five, section 4.3). As many of these tourists realise, to gain a greater insight into other cultures repeat visits, local contacts or knowledge of the local language are required (see chapter four, sections 2.1; 2.2 and 4.6). However, these contacts and skills are not available to all cultural tourists and, therefore, although tourists attempt to escape the tourist role, the very nature of their visit prevents them from doing so. Furthermore, where contacts and language skills do exist these may be valued, not only because they allow insight to be obtained, but also because they allow the tourist to differentiate between their experience of place and those of 'other' tourists (see chapter four, section 3.1). Thus, from a cynical perspective, the higher motive of obtaining such experiences is not only to gain insight, but also to develop a favourable sense of self or increase one's social status (through discussion of the holiday on the return home).

Brief visits, which are based on a list of specific cultural attractions, may lead some tourists to learn more about a place's history and past culture than about modern life in other European countries. Holidays may also be seen as providing an escape from the stresses of modern life. Although this is not a bad thing in itself, romanticized images of the past can cause tourists to view evidence of modern life, such as factories and cars, in negative terms because it disrupts the image of a pristine and unspoiled cultural setting (see chapter four section 5.3).

Learning about a nation's history, architecture and artistic facets through visiting specific cultural sites provides cultural tourists with an insight into certain aspects of high culture. This causes an increased appreciation of those cultural artefacts and some tourists also demonstrated that they made links between what they saw at cultural attractions and experienced in the wider cultural settings (see chapter three, sections 3.1 and 3.2), while others showed that their experiences had enhanced their knowledge and appreciation for aspects of European culture (see chapter three, section 4.2). Thus, in this regard cultural tourism does play an important role in developing an appreciation of other cultures.

Herbert (1995) suggests that to create a united Europe it is necessary to create a common heritage, perhaps focussing on urban heritage, which provides a balance between common experience and display of cultural expression without requiring linguistic mediation. The comments of past tourists in the current study indicate that language can be a barrier to developing an understanding of the places and peoples visited (see chapter

three section 3.4 and chapter four section 2.2). However, given that cultural tourists appear to enjoy learning specific information about a place, even if the information itself is not remembered as clearly as the experience of learning it, there may be potential to develop the interpretation of cultural sites further. Display panels within cities and towns in English (and other languages) would provide tourists with a means of learning more about the places that they are seeing, thus enhancing the experience of exploring European urban architecture. Similarly, it may be possible to extend this to countryside regions, so that in addition to making their own deductions about a place (see chapter three section 3.3), tourists can learn about the countryside through which they are driving. Where information boards are not appropriate booklets or guided tours in English might be made more widely available.

However, learning at attractions should be seen in separate terms to developing cultural understanding in terms of establishing peaceful relationships between nations, as the latter requires positive contact between people. While Krippendorf (1987) complains that tourism leads to the re-enforcement of cultural stereotypes, this is perhaps less damaging than if stereotypes are revised in a negative light (see section 3.4.3). While this consequence may not lead to direct hostility between tourists and locals, it may result in a loss of respect for the nation that has been visited. Negative experiences such as theft or harassment, which cause a tourist's sense of security to be threatened (see chapter five, section 4.5), may have a similar impact.

In the same vein, travel may lead to tourists developing a sense of community with other European states (Economic and Social Committee 1990), but while national differences may motivate some tourists to travel, for a minority regional variety may lead to the stereotype of a united Europe, in which the tourist feels at home wherever they are, being shattered (see chapter three, section 4.3) causing more cautious explorations in the future. This raises the question of how much tourists actually want to discover the 'real' nature of a place, or are happy with preconceived images of a place and its people. The answer to this is that it depends on how adventurous and experienced the individual tourist is. However, a balance between discovering the 'authentic' nature of a place (see chapter four) and avoiding the 'bad' aspects must somehow be achieved for positive stereotypes to remain intact or for positive images to be developed. As Urry (1990) describes, there are some places and experience that tourists are not meant to see. Consequently, as cultural tourists become more explorative in their desire to escape the crowds, with the encouragement of policies designed to disperse tourists from densely visited places (see chapter one, section 2), those who are less intrepid may find themselves feeling vulnerable in unfamiliar settings. While appealing to the sense of escaping the masses, the places that have '*nothing to do with tourists*' may not be suitable for the Scottish tourist unable to speak the language and unwilling to partake in local cuisine.

When considering the introduction or expansion of cultural tourism within an area, the willingness of local inhabitants to act as welcoming hosts and their ability to communicate with their 'guests' should perhaps be considered more carefully, as hostility of locals and inability to communicate are factors shown to detract from cultural holidays

(see chapter three section 4.3 and chapter four, section 2.2). In addition to this prospective cultural tourist's might be made more aware of the necessity to have some knowledge of the local language, prior to travelling to areas which are less used to dealing with British tourists.

A second question that arises from this is whether or not positive stereotypes are beneficial. For example, while the maintenance of positive images may cause some cultural tourists to have a greater sense of appreciation towards other European cultures it does not further the understanding of social difficulties or challenge the individual to consider what 'real life' might be like in that country.

Other problems face the main tourist attractions, bringing into question the sustainability of cultural tourism (see chapter one, section 2). While cultural tourists see themselves as being more considerate than 'other' tourists (see chapter four, section 3.1) the sheer numbers of tourists that visit some of the famous sites causes a disruptive influence (see chapter four, section 5.2). While individual tourists may desire to be unobtrusive and to avoid other tourists (see chapter four, section 4.6), this sentiment is not always compatible with the desire to see specific cultural sites, especially those that are famous. The presence of other tourists not only damages the atmosphere and hinders a more intimate involvement with the place, for example actually using a church to pray in (see chapter four, section 5.2), but may also cause the hosts to feel hostility towards the tourists. If expressed through surly service and an attempt to belittle tourists' attempt at

communication, as in one reported case, the promotion of international relations is certainly not helped.

8.3. Tourism as memory

The central aim of the thesis was to develop an understanding of tourism as memory (see thesis introduction). As shown in chapter one, few empirical studies have investigated the subject of tourism as memory and those that have, have tended to be museum-based (for example Falk and Dierking 1992; Stevenson 1991; McManus 1996; Masberg and Silverman 1993). The current study has therefore filled a gap in the literature and provided data with which to discuss the issues raised and answer the questions posed in chapter one, section 5.

One of the questions raised was whether holiday memories sustain individuals on their return home, as suggested by Graburn (1978) and Cohen (1979). This was based on the assumption that work and leisure are diametrically opposed, and was thus in conflict with more recent theories which portray holidays as an extension of leisure interests (Poon 1993). The data showed that past tourists do see their holiday memories as having a sustaining effect and that this is seen as an important reason for making an effort to remember details about a visit (see chapter five, section 5.2) and in particular to remember 'good' or happy memories (see chapter five, section 5.4), which are seen to balance or counteract the stress of working life. However, the model suggested by Poon should not be rejected because of this since respondents also indicated that every-day

leisure interests are often pursued during the holiday, causing certain places to be visited and remembered in preference to others (see chapter three section 2.2 and chapter seven, section 2.3). Holiday experiences may also inspire some individuals to pursue new interests on the return home. Thus, while 'work' may be seen in contrast to 'play', the boundaries between a 'holiday' and leisure in general appear to be blurred.

This led to a second question as to whether the retention of holiday memories may cause some market segments to become bored by repeating the same holiday experiences (Urry 1990; Sontag 1978) and whether this might be tempered by endearment to place (Relph 1976; Prentice 1996b). The data showed that one-off visits to a place are far more common than repeat visits, although a limited number of cultural tourists clearly develop a strong attachment to a specific area, returning year after year (see chapter four, section 2.1). The data also support the idea that memory and boredom may play a part in causing one-off visits to places for the segment of cultural tourists who have a list of places to see during their trip (see chapter three, section 3.1 and chapter five, section 4.3) and would not want to return to a place because they feel that they have 'seen it'. Using sets of photographs to aid the recall of a visit may further inhibit the desire to return, as the place, once captured on film, can be viewed at leisure (see chapter seven, section 4.2) without the expense or time commitment of travel. However, this should also be seen in combination with the desire to 'see as many places as possible' as if the world were a formed from a list of places to be collected (see chapter four, section 2.1). While certain places may be greatly enjoyed they are not be returned to because it is deemed more important to use the given resources of time and money to visit a 'new' place. This segment of cultural tourists (thirty-six out of fifty couples interviewed in phase one)

pursues similar activities in the places they visit, but are not bored by this because they are constantly changing the location.

Unlike some literature derived from a psychological background (such as Baddeley 1996; Neisser 1982; Ryan and Dewar 1982), this study has not attempted to test the precision of recalled memories against actual experience, but has instead considered how memories may be 'reconstructed' over time (Loftus and Palmer 1974) owing to personal interests and subsequent opportunities for reinforcement (Falk and Dierking 1992). Amongst other dimensions, the data suggested that, with regard to holidays, what the memory contrives to forget is as important as what it remembers (Samuel 1994). Although described by a historian and seldom recognised in tourism literature, this factor was clearly apparent when discussing holiday photographs with respondents as no images of negative experiences were selected (see section 7.3.5). When 'spontaneous' memories were investigated, it was similarly found that negative memories were sometimes down-played and that some respondents clearly attempted to forget 'bad' memories (see chapter five, section 5.4) in order to promote the image of having had a 'good' time and so that they would not be psychologically deterred from taking similar holidays in future.

Museum-based studies (such as Stevenson 1991; Falk and Dierking 1992; Masberg and Silverman 1993 and McManus 1996) provided a useful conceptual basis for the current study in that they showed the importance of episodic or experiential memories. Similarly, the data from the present study showed this form of memory to predominate, with factual information often being embedded within narrated experiences (see chapter three, section 3.1), thus supporting the argument that episodic memory (or the ability to think back to

when the information was assimilated) may be a condition for semantic memory. Also, in adherence to the examples provided by the museum studies, the current study found that social and personal contexts were important dimensions of the learning experience within cultural holidays (see chapter three). However, the data also revealed that, in addition to learning, authenticity and relaxation are also valued by returning tourists (see chapters four and five). This shows that cultural holidays should not be seen purely in terms of consecutive museum visits, but that the opportunities to see wider views of a place and to use the holiday as a period of recuperation are also remembered as important aspects of cultural holidays.

8.4. Memory and social discourse

A central problem of investigating memory is its intangible nature; how can one really know what another person remembers of an experience? Even when an experience has been shared it may be reconstructed to form different memories by different individuals (Loftus and Palmer 1982; Falk and Dierking 1992). A limitation of this study, as with others that investigate memory, is that it relies on the respondent's ability to transform their remembered experiences into words. Words place certain restrictions on the recalled experience that may not be present when recalling past experiences in the form of 'day-dreams'. For example, people may be able to conjure certain smells or sounds in their memory and similarly encountering similar scents or noises may bring past experiences vividly to mind, but these aspects of experience are often difficult to translate into words. Small's work (1999) utilizes written texts, in which participants can spend time to reflect upon their experiences, which are later discussed. This may allow respondents more time

to think about their experiences than the interview situation allows and encourages the careful choice of words with which to describe the experience; however, the reliance on words and the trust in the individual's recall remains paramount. Such research must also acknowledge that even the fullest transcripts remain flawed in that they cannot capture the memory in its entirety. However, it remains the most viable means of collecting data about other people's experiences.

Spoken memory provides a means of accessing private memories (Fentress 1992) or, in other words, social discourse makes intangible memories tangible. As Pearce (1991) states, one of the most common ways in which people share their holiday memories is through narrated stories, which 'create' as well as 'access' memory. This was also the case in the current study, with incidents being narrated as personal stories of past experiences (see chapters three to seven).

Pearce (1991) also writes that people are selective about the audience to which stories are told, showing that the past can be adapted and manipulated to suit the social context. Unlike Pearce's study which was based on ten hypothetical incidents provided by the researcher (see chapter two, section 2.1), the current study allowed people to select their own stories thus providing data on the nature of the stories that people actually choose to recall.

In common with Pearce's (1991) study some respondents agreed that there were some incidents that they would be unwilling to share with others (see chapter five, section 5.4)

and these tended to be incidents that would reflect badly on the image of the individual or family unit. However, three other respondents provided a conflicting argument, suggesting that it is the holiday 'disasters' that make the best dinner stories (see chapter five, section 5.4). In accordance with Pearce's argument that people do not narrate stories that portray them as unable to cope with a situation, these stories are transformed from embarrassing anecdotes into amusing stories through the use of irony and humour. It may also suggest that, if individuals have sufficient self-confidence, they are able to deal with such incidents without feeling that their self-esteem is damaged.

In addition, the study showed that the majority of respondents did not like to bore others with their personal experiences. As suggest by Pearce (1991), they are constrained by the social context and only related their memories to people with whom they shared similar interests or experience. Alternatively, they wait for opportune moments to arise in conversation where they could draw upon their experiences (see chapter three, section 5.2). The current study has therefore tested Pearce's theories and finds them to be valid.

Individual and social memory is closely related, as families that share holiday memories upon the return home are able to both prompt the memory of certain incidents and to 'correct' their memories if they differ from their own (Connerton 1989). While not limited to holiday experiences alone, it is interesting to consider how such interaction causes memories to be reconstructed over time. Where spouses 'listened in' to conversations in the second phase of interviewing there was evidence of recalled details being contested and negotiated. Final agreement was achieved through reference to

brochures or photographs (as 'indisputable' evidence), or by 're-thinking' the context of events, agreeing that the alternative suggestion was logical and deferring to the other person's memory, perhaps with a phrase such as '*they remember places better than I do.*' Unfortunately, as individuals were generally interviewed separately, there is limited information to support this argument. However, it would provide an interesting avenue for further research.

8.5. Souvenirs

Literature has suggested that the significance of the souvenir lies in the relationship between the object and the experience (Graburn 1978). This was confirmed by the data obtained from interviews with past cultural tourists, many of whom related their special souvenir objects to specific holiday incidents such as visiting a specific site (see chapter six, section 3.4) or the purchase experience (see chapter six, section 3.5) or simply enjoying oneself (see chapter six, section 4.2). It has also been suggested that souvenir objects function to preserve one-off encounters (Stewart 1984). Theoretically, it is more likely that tourists will buy objects if they know, or suspect, that they will not return to the area or country. The high number of one-off visits to places and the accompanying determination to see as many places as possible (see chapter four, section 2.1) is likely to endow the purchase of souvenirs with greater significance and may make some cultural tourists more determined to purchase souvenir items than would otherwise be the case. Further research could therefore be done to investigate whether there is a correlation between visiting patterns and the perceived importance of purchasing souvenirs.

Stewart (1984) stated that 'the souvenir is by definition always incomplete' and again this theory was confirmed by the manner in which souvenirs were described. Although items may be attractive to look at or of some practical use, their full significance remains hidden without the personal narrative that accompanies them. Again this points to the connection between objects and experience. For example, a wooden bowl might be admired for the quality of craftsmanship evident in its production, while for the past cultural tourist it might symbolize a visit to a town, the experience of choosing that item over others and possibly the opportunity to discuss the item with the person who made it. Thus the personal narrative is of vital importance to relate an object back to its original context (see chapter six, section 2). Because of the connection between souvenir and experience, objects that are given away upon return are endowed with a different meaning for the recipient (who not having been to the place where the souvenir originated) relates the item to the person who gave it to them. An interesting situation may arise, however, if the recipient has visited the region, as they may then link the object with their own experiences of that place. Meaning may therefore be transferred as the object is adopted into a new context (Belk 1988).

In addition to experience, the significance of souvenirs was also strongly affected by concepts of authenticity (Stewart 1984; Cohen 1993; Albers and James 1988), with respondents finding a number of means by which to establish the authenticity of the article they had chosen, involving a place's reputation for specific products (see chapter six, section 3.2) or the finding of products that were thought to be unobtainable in Britain

(see chapter six, section 3.3). Thus the cultural souvenir not only relates to the past experience, but also represents the 'foreign' nature of the place visited.

For souvenirs to act as memory cues to past events (Harris 1982) or experiences it is necessary for them to be accessible and to remain in use, perhaps being revered through ritual (Belk 1989). The data supported these ideas and suggested that cultural tourists are aware of this fact, either consciously or unconsciously, and consequently like to choose items that will be useful (see chapter six, section 4.2) and will therefore remain in view or that are of good quality and can be displayed to enhance the home (see chapter six, sections 3.1 and 4.2). As middle-class households are often designed with entertainment in mind (Argle 1994), select souvenirs may provide an opportunity to 'advertise' past tourists' travels (Veblen 1899; Goffman 1978) and to show their good sense of taste through the selection of authentic items, carefully displayed (Littrell, 1990; see chapter six, sections 3 and 4.3). Over a number of years a collection of souvenirs may be assembled, representing a variety of different places visited; these also act as markers in an individual's life history. It may therefore be interesting to investigate how a collection of souvenirs, from a series of holidays, act as memory prompts and to see how souvenirs may be used to differentiate one set of holiday experiences and places from another. Alternatively, a set of souvenirs may act collectively, causing the significance of individual items to become blurred as memories of several holidays become overlain. Similarly, the subject of whether older souvenirs gradually lose their symbolic connection with places as more recent places, experiences and souvenirs are 'collected', could be investigated.

Because the interviews focused on souvenirs that were considered 'special' it is not possible to access what happens to other souvenir objects that may be collected. This is therefore another avenue that could be further explored. Some respondents indicated that brochures were kept in a similar manner to postcards and photographs (see chapter seven, sections 5 and 4.3) in that they were often kept in a box with other holiday material for future reference. Other items may be integrated into the household, or used in a manner that does not draw attention to their origins. In this regard the motivation for making a purchase may also be of significance. While souvenirs are purchased as 'mementos' (see chapter six, section 3.1), some other items, such as wine or clothes, may be purchased because of cheaper prices and without the intention that they should act as reminders of place and experience. Although this does not necessarily prevent the holiday from being recalled when the product is used, this recall is more coincidental than intentional.

Other souvenirs, which are discarded, lose their value as they become stripped of their personal context, and may become curiosity items in charity shops to be sold on cheaply. However, it is possible that, when the item is purchased for a second time, new layers of meaning are established (Belk 1988). Consequently the fate of discarded souvenirs might be an interesting subject to pursue.

While both Gordon (1986) and Stewart (1984) developed classifications of souvenirs (see chapter one), the current study shows how tourists endow souvenirs with meaning, rather than imposing the meanings from the researcher's perspective (see chapter four). In the

current study the authenticity of items emerged as a central concern and five markers of authenticity were identified (see chapter six, section 3). However, a further classification, derived from the respondents' descriptions of their souvenir items could be developed, based on the motive for buying specific items. Thus items could be classified according to whether they are 'useful' or 'attractive', would form part of a 'collection' of similar items (see chapter six, section 4.2), or because they have special 'personal interest' (see chapter six, section 2).

Similarly, Graburn (1989) suggested that each tourism style generates its own type of souvenirs and this association has been tested by Littrell (1994), who found that different market segments choose different types of craft souvenir. Although the current study has not attempted to classify cultural tourists according to the souvenirs that they collect, it was shown that cultural tourists differentiate themselves from 'other' tourists through the terms they use to describe souvenirs. While 'other' tourists buy 'tacky rubbish', cultural tourists see themselves as purchasing 'quality momentos.' As middle-class individuals they are likely to have more money than the 'typical' or working-class tourist as well as the cultural capital with which to select 'tasteful' items (Argle 1994; Bourdieu 1979). Cultural tourists appear to be aware of these distinctions, while carefully avoiding direct reference to class differences, which would not be 'politically correct'. Areas, which want to increase their revenue from cultural tourists, might therefore consider the type of souvenirs that are on offer for sale. Items should ideally be of good quality, but not overpriced, while also being clearly related to the area in which they are being purchased.

8.6. Photographs

Much of the literature about tourist photography is written in a theoretical manner, with little or no reference to empirical data (for example Albers and James 1988; Belk 1988; Sontag 1978; Urry 1990; 1995). Pocock's article (1982), which considers how photograph and memory may differ, is an exception to this trend. The data collected during this study, therefore, provided further data with which to test existing theories (see chapter seven), while also inspiring some further thoughts about the nature of holiday photographs and the manner in which they are used.

A defining characteristic of holiday photographs is their ability to capture the personal aspect of visiting experience (Crang 1996) and in this they can be distinguished from the mass-produced postcard. While postcards may act as substitutes for photographs, providing records of interiors or special views that cannot be successfully captured on the personal camera, or as an insurance that the tourists will return home with a set of images (see chapter seven, section 5), they are not considered sufficient by themselves for the vast majority of tourists because they lack the personal element. This may be represented through the use of emplacement (see chapter seven, section 2.2), but of equal importance is the ability to choose the subject matter (see chapter seven, section 2.3), which may not have mass appeal or relevance. Furthermore, although the professional quality of postcard photography may be admired, this does not appear to be a determining factor in the selection of favourite photographic images (see chapter seven, section 2.4), the memory that an image inspires being of greater importance than its clarity or technical quality. This does not contradict Urry's (1995) assertion that the tourist tries to capture

the 'best' of everything; rather the tourist attempts to capture their 'best' experiences through the camera. Images may be disappointing because of the restrictions of the media, but they are re-embellished by memory to re-create the visiting experience (ibid; see chapter seven section 3.1).

It is the personal nature of photographs that explains individuals' reluctance to throw out photographs. Leaflets may be thrown out, postcards used as cards and unwanted souvenirs given away or sent to a charity shop, but photographs are rarely discarded (see chapter seven, section 4.3). The strong metonymic relationship between the photograph and experience makes the destruction of photograph the symbolic equivalent to purposefully forgetting a place or experience. The desire to capture holiday experiences on film may also suggest that the modern tourist has little faith in his or her own (unprompted) memory. While interview data from the first phase of the study showed that memories unprompted by visual images could be equally rich and are likely to include both good and bad memories (see chapters three to five), photographs provide easier access to the incidents that they record. As photographs tend to record only happy moments and attractive places (Urry 1995), focusing on the photographs alone, as opposed to letting the memory roam may enable past tourists to ignore any negative incidents that occurred, thus creating an unblemished image of the past (see chapter seven, section 3.5).

The manner in which tourists, including cultural tourists, take photographs raises the question of whether people are mindful of their surroundings when they take photographs (see chapter one, section 8) or whether photographs are taken as a matter of course (see

chapter seven, section 4.3), involving an unquestioned holiday ritual that reduces places to scenic views (Sontag 1978). From the interview data it appears that most cultural tourists do not simply 'stop, click, move on'. They tend to be mindful of the places that they visit and are able to recall aspects of their visiting experience, including factual details (see chapter seven, section 3.2), and the photographs may be used to prompt memories of these facts. As such, a set of photographs could be described as notebooks of experience, suited to the modern world because it is quick and easy to produce (less time consuming than diaries and requiring less skill than sketching). However, many people do not spend the time to 'complete' them by putting them in albums or by annotating them (see chapter seven, section 4.3) because this requires additional time and effort. Indeed, while some thought appears to be involved in deciding which images to capture on film, cultural tourists seem to be less mindful as to what will become of the photographs after the initial return home. This may suggest that taking photographs is a habit, the consequences of which are not thought through, but one that does not necessarily diminish the state of mindfulness when the image is captured.

The sheer number of photographs that are produced from a holiday, or series of holidays may be worth considering further. Eight respondents mentioned that more than one person in their family took photographs when they went on holiday and a further six people swapped photographs with a friend with whom they had been on holiday. In families where two or more members have their own camera, there may be duplication of images or different styles of photograph being taken (see chapter seven, section 2.3). As with other form of souvenir (see this chapter, section 5), tourists may feel a greater compulsion to take photographs if they believe it is their only opportunity to visit the

place. As such, photographs provide a means of preserving 'special' experiences or visits (Stewart 1984). Consequently, tourists who return to an area may take fewer photographs on subsequent visits, this being an area that could be studied further. In the current study, only one respondent refused to use her camera because it marked her as a tourist. Thus, while cultural tourists may see themselves as different from other tourists (see chapter four, section 3.1), the ubiquitous camera is not a tool that they are willing to forsake. Furthermore, while postcards may be used to complement a set of photographs, in the vast majority of cases the ability to purchase professional images does not persuade people to use their cameras less, rather the postcards are additional images.

However, the excess number of photographs produced may be reduced as the use of digital camera becomes more common. As the digital camera allows the photographer to view the picture at the time of production, there is no need to make several images 'just in case' and then keep them. Instead, the 'best' image can be selected immediately and the others deleted to allow for further photographs to be taken. A consequence of this technology may be reduced excitement at seeing the photographs that are produced because there is no wait for, or uncertainty about, the images that have been captured. As a result less time may be taken to look at the photographs upon the return home. Another potential outcome of using digital cameras is that the imperfect photograph can be modified, allowing people to produce the 'perfect' set of holiday photographs. The likelihood of this occurring is small, however, due to time constraints, given that currently returning tourists do not spend much time on sorting their holiday images.

Although photographs are often discussed in terms of memory prompts, their social function should not be forgotten (see chapter seven, section 4.2). Showing a set of photographs to family or friends may be a way of showing oneself to be well travelled, thus improving one's social status (Belk 1988; 1988; Bourdieu 1979; Sontag 1978; Chalfen 1987). However, this may be an overly cynical attitude, given the reticence the majority of respondents showed when asked about showing their photographs to other people (see chapter seven, section 4.3). Consequently, the potential of promoting places, through past tourists showing their photographs to other people, should not be overestimated. As 'private' images, with viewing restricted to close family members or friends, holiday photographs may provide a means of including additional members in the holiday experience. Although the holiday itself is not participated in, the experience is shared through narrated memory and accompanying illustrations. As with the souvenir gift that is bought to show that a person was remembered during the trip, so the set of photographs is shown as a gesture of inclusion.

Importantly, holiday photographs are only starting points around which to develop personal stories (Crang 1997) and without the use of social discourse the individual meaning of the photograph or set of photographs cannot be accessed. In this, the holiday photograph differs from artistic representations that may be expected to speak for themselves. In common with other means of narrating holiday experiences (see this chapter, section 4), the viewing of holiday photographs upon the return home may be used to enhance social bonds through the discussion of experience, being used to build dialogue and stimulate conversation. However, in some instances, photographs also act as

substitutes for words, the image allowing the narrator to pay less attention to the description of place because the listeners can 'see for themselves' (see chapter seven, section 4.2). While this may lead to a lesser reliance on verbal skills on the part of the narrator, it may also promote listeners to ask questions, thus making the process more conversational and so alleviating fears of imposing one's experiences upon those who are not interested.

Finally, while this study has focussed on the meaning of specific photographs, which was beneficial in that it allowed people to elaborate on a limited number of images, it would also be of interest to further investigate how holidays are narrated when using full sets of photographs, or sets presented in photograph albums, to see how much detail is included and how much deviation from the photographs takes place: in other words, whether photographs are used as a starting point for non-illustrated narratives or not. Evidence from the current study has suggested that this might be the case (see chapter seven, section 2.4), but, equally, if the researcher had allowed more photographs to be reviewed, these might have been introduced to continue the illustration.

8.7. Composite models of remembered experience

A primary aim of the thesis was 'to develop a methodology to understand tourism as memories, through an investigation of the incidents remembered by tourists who have taken a European cultural holiday' (see introduction). In doing so, the study hoped to fill a gap in the tourism literature, which has tended to focus on motivation and experience (see chapter one, section 5). Since the commencement of this study, Small (1999) has published a paper on memory-work and its utility for investigating tourist experiences.

However, as a feminist technique, Small's research has to date been limited to investigating the memories of female tourists. Although there may be potential to develop (or adapt) memory work further to incorporate the masculine experience, this may undermine its feminist basis (Small 1999). Consequently, the current study provides a valuable methodology for investigating tourists' memories of cultural holidays that is based on data gathered from both male and female respondents.

Despite this the researcher acknowledges that the current study has a number of limitations. Due to the response rate being lower than initially anticipated (see chapter two section 3) the sample group is to some extent self-selecting, in that any respondents who met the criteria for the study and were willing to be interviewed, were used. 'Busy' or 'shy' individuals were not pursued, or offered any further motivation to participate. Consequently, only those respondents who enjoy talking about their past experiences and who were comfortable with the thought of talking to a relative stranger have been interviewed.

The low response rate also led to a broadening of criteria, after a trial period suggested that this would be necessary to achieve the desired number of respondents. Consequently, a broad definition of 'Europe' has been used, whereas it was initially intended to focus on only France, Spain and Portugal. By restricting the destinations, it was hoped that remembered experience would be more comparable. While broadening the criteria achieved the desired response rate it resulted in a very wide spectrum of remembered experiences. This was compounded by differences in length of stay, style of accommodation, age of tourist and differing levels of travel experience possessed by

individuals. While it can be argued that this reflects the diversity of the cultural tourism market itself, from a research perspective it meant that segmentation proved problematic. This may have caused the personal context to gain greater emphasis than would otherwise have been the case. As discussed below, an alternative method would have been to attempt a more in-depth study of a limited number of individuals over a longer period of time. This would have had the additional benefits of being able to make direct comparisons between the two phases of the study and to show more clearly how memories may reconstruct over time, or may be influenced by the stimulation of 'memory prompts' in the form of souvenirs and photographs.

As outlined in chapter one, section 9 and chapter two, section 4.2, the current study analyses past tourists' memories in terms of the composite model of remembered experience. Drawing upon several previous models and typologies, the deductive composite model provides a comprehensive approach to understanding tourism as memory. Although strongly influenced by Falk and Dierking's model (1992), which was based on the museum context, the inclusion of additional elements enables the model to be applied to the wider agenda of cultural tourism.

Topological models, such as those developed by Cohen (1979) and Smith (1978), suggest that tourists can be segmented on the basis of the experience that they seek from an attraction. While the current study focuses on three dominant features of recalled experience, namely learning, authenticity and relaxation, the composite model of remembered experience shows that the situation is more complex than simple segmentation allows. Although narratives may be divided into different categories for the

ease of discussion, different styles of experience may overlap during a holiday or within a visit to a cultural attraction. Thus, a respondent can describe a visit as both a learning experience and one that was relaxing or authentic.

In terms of the model this causes greater emphasis to be placed on the personal context than the interactive model of experience, developed by Falk and Dierking (1992), would have suggested. This emphasis has been explained through reference to hierarchical typologies (Driver-Brown 1980; Beeho and Prentice 1995) in which benefits are seen to 'drive', or provide motive for, the personal context. However, the interview data also highlighted the diversity of experiences sought by different individuals during their cultural holidays. This encouraged the researcher to emphasise the importance of the personal context. An alternative approach might have been to attempt to segment the cultural tourists, but this was not deemed suitable given the relatively small size of sample.

When considering why people remembered certain aspects of experience over others, the concept of 'benefits' was employed (Driver-Brown 1980; Beeho and Prentice 1995). This concept offered a means of suggesting why and how individuals might use their memories in both personal and social realms. The influence of laddering technique (Reynolds and Gutman 1988) led the researcher to consider the benefits as stated by the interviewees as well as inferring, through reference to social theory, higher motives that might be un-stated and, in some cases, unconscious.

In both phases of the study the postulated model proved useful for the investigation of past tourists' memories of their cultural holidays. Chapters three to five expanded on single aspects of experience, creating inductive models that paralleled the deductive model. Chapters six and seven can be seen as a means of testing the deductive model in the context of memory prompts. Again the model proved useful, although in chapter six souvenirs were described primarily in terms of authenticity. It thus mirrors chapter four in many regards. This may show the importance of this aspect of experience for the cultural tourist, but also highlights a possible flaw in the study, in that only 'special' souvenirs were discussed. If a wider range of souvenirs had been investigated memories of 'learning' and 'relaxation' might have been better represented. In contrast, photographs, as discussed in chapter seven, appear to offer more holistic memory prompts. Each of the aspects of experience postulated in the deductive model and elaborated in chapters three to five were mentioned by respondents when reviewing their selected photographic images. In this regard, the selection of a limited number of images does not appear to have skewed the study (although it may have resulted in omitting of negative narrations) and therefore this chapter can be seen as replicating the structure of the first three data chapters and the pattern suggested by the deductive composite model.

Owing to the use of Critical Incident Technique to structure the first phase of interviewing (see chapter two, section 2.2), the data illustrates the potential of the model to investigate both positive and negative memories. While chapters six and seven are not similarly balanced, this merely highlights a tendency for individuals to avoid recounting negative memories (see chapter five, section 5.4).

In contrast with the work of Falk and Dierking (1992), the current study is limited, in that it focuses primarily on memory, although theoretically the deductive composite model could be used to investigate motivation and experience as well. However, as memory may be considered the final stage of the holiday process (comprising motivation, expectation, experience and memory), there is potential to gain insight into the whole process by interviewing individuals once they have returned home. Indeed the data have shown that motive for visiting and the contrast between expectation and experience play an important part in remembered experience (see, for example, chapter three sections 2.2 and 2.4; chapter four, section 4.1; chapter five, section 2.2; chapter six, section 3.2; chapter seven, section 2.3). However, memory is a reconstructed narrative (Loftus and Zanni 1975; Loftus and Palmer 1982; Ross 1982; Falk and Dierking 1992; Connelly and Brown 1994; Zhou 2000) and therefore gaps may exist between lived and remembered experience. A long-term study would enable the process of reconstruction to be considered further. Through the comparison of narratives collected over a period of time, such research could show whether holiday memories fade or whether selected stories are embellished. The effect of taking and remembering subsequent holidays could also be investigated with the aim of discovering how different places and holiday experiences are differentiated or amalgamated over time.

Similarly, it is possible that the model could be applied to other holiday styles, for example, ethnic holidays, adventure holidays or beach holidays, to demonstrate which aspects of experience are most vividly remembered and valued in each sector and the nature of memory prompts chosen to aid recall.

A further extension of the study could involve interviewing complete family groups, who had been on holiday together. This would allow the comparison of a wider spectrum of memories. In particular it would allow for the investigation of children's memories and could test whether children remember the aspects of cultural holidays that their parents wish them to. Although some parents feel deterred from taking their children on cultural holidays (see chapter two, section 3.3), perhaps through a fear that their children would be bored, for others the potential to further their children's informal education is important (see chapter three). It may be possible to expand the demand for cultural tourism by promoting it as an opportunity for family bonding (see chapter five section 5.3) and drawing attention to the fact that children are likely to have their imagination stirred by visits to cultural attractions, rather than to be bored by them.

The children of cultural tourists may be allowed to choose their own souvenirs or have special items purchased for them (see chapter six, section 4.2) and some may take their own photographs (see chapter seven, section 2.3). While this was not an area that was pursued in the current study, comments by parents and the occasional additional comments from their children suggested that the children might single out aspects of the holiday that their parents would not expect them to. These may or may not focus on cultural aspects. Similarly, younger children seem to choose souvenir items that their parents would not consider purchasing and may take photographs in which emplacement is of paramount importance.

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Appendixes

(I) Introductory letter used in phase one

Date 1997

Dear Sir / Madam

I am a doctoral student from Queen Margaret College, studying what people recall of their holidays once they have returned home. As part of my research, I am interviewing partners who have taken a cultural holiday in Europe, outside Britain, within the last three years. A cultural holiday is one in which a main reason for visiting the country is to appreciate its culture (for example, city breaks, museums, theatre, architecture, heritage, language, folk traditions etc.) as opposed to a beach holiday or sports holiday.

Partners will be interviewed separately, but where possible consecutively. Each person's interview is expected to last approximately 30 minutes.

I will contact you by phone within the next week, and if you fulfil the above criteria will request an interview with you and your partner.

Your name and address were obtained from the electoral register, chosen by random selection. I will obtain your phone number from the Edinburgh phone book.

If you require further information about this study feel free to contact me at Queen Margaret College, tel. (0131) 317 3595. Alternately, my supervisor Prof. Richard Prentice will answer any questions you might have. He can be contacted at Queen Margaret College, tel. (0131) 317 3426.

Yours sincerely,

Fiona Thornycroft.

(II) Introductory letter used in phase two

Date 1998

Dear Sir / Madam

I am a doctoral student from Queen Margaret College, studying what people recall of their holidays once they have returned home. As part of my research, I am interviewing people who have brought back souvenirs from a 'cultural' holiday, in continental Europe, within the last three years. A cultural holiday is one in which a main reason for visiting the country is to appreciate its culture (for example, city breaks, museums, theatre, architecture, heritage, language, folk traditions etc.) as opposed to a beach holiday or sports holiday. Souvenirs refer to any items that were purchased or collected when abroad, other than as presents for other people, which you associate with the place visited. This may include photographs, ornaments, books, handicrafts, shells, leaflets, foodstuffs, tickets etc.

I will contact you by phone within the next week, and if you fulfil the above criteria will request an interview with you. An interview would take approximately 40 minutes.

Your name and address were obtained from the electoral register, chosen by random selection. I will obtain your phone number from the Edinburgh phone book.

The interview will be confidential. The information will be used for my thesis and may also be summarised in a published article. With your permission I will record sections of the interview to save time. It would also be helpful if I could photograph the souvenirs that we talk about during the interview, if they are available, and if you would not mind me doing so. The photographs will be used in my analysis and might also be used for illustrative purposes.

If you require further information about this study feel free to contact me at Queen Margaret College, tel. (0131) 317 3595. Alternately, my supervisor Prof. Richard Prentice will answer any questions you might have. He can be contacted at Glasgow Caledonian University, tel. (0141) 337 4313.

Yours sincerely,

Fiona Thornycroft

(III) Telephone script(s)

Phase one

1. My name is Fiona Thornycroft, from Queen Margaret College, I recently sent you a letter about 'cultural holidays'.
2. I am just phoning to ask whether you have you been on a cultural holiday to Europe in the last three years...(if 'no' ask what type of holidays are taken / where and thank them for their time).
3. Was that with your husband / wife?
4. And, what sort of things did you do on that holiday?
5. Finally, would you be willing to be interviewed about the holiday? (If yes, arrange date and time for the interview. Confirm that both husband and wife can be present. Confirm the approximate length that the interview will take.)

Phase two

1. My name is Fiona Thornycroft, from Queen Margaret College, I recently sent you a letter about 'souvenirs and photographs'.
2. I am just phoning to ask whether you have you been on a cultural holiday to Europe in the last three years...(if 'no' ask what type of holidays are taken / where and thank them for their time).
3. And, did you bring back any photographs or souvenirs from that holiday?
4. Finally, would you be willing to be interviewed about them? (If yes, arrange date and time for the interview. Confirm the approximate length that the interview will take. Ask for souvenirs and photographs from that holiday to be 'to hand' to talk about.)

(IV) Question schedule for phase one

1a. Where was your most recent cultural holiday in Europe? When was it? (How long ago?) How long was the holiday?

1b. What form(s) of cultural tourism did it involve? Did you go for a specific reason?

1c. How many people went on the holiday? (i.e. just the couple or with children or friends).

2. I'd like you to think about your most recent cultural holiday and then describe:

1. An incident that occurred that you remember added to your experience of a place that you visited.

2. An incident that occurred that you remember spoilt the experience of a place you visited.

3. And, if you had to choose one thing from that holiday that most sticks in your mind or that you remember most clearly what would that be? (This can be one of the incidents that you have described already, or a third one.)

3. Additional questions to ask about the holiday / visiting patterns

1. Had you visited the area previously? If so how often?

2. Did it live up to expectations? (If any)

3. Would you visit the area again? Why / why not?

4. Questions about holidays in general

1. How frequently do your holidays contain a cultural element?

2. How often do you go on holiday?

3. How often do you visit cultural attractions in Scotland / the Edinburgh area?

5. Questions about remembering holidays

1. Do you think it important to remember what happened on holiday?

2. Why / Why not? Do you make a conscious effort to do so?

3. How often is the holiday discussed after the return home? With whom? In how much detail?

4. Are there incidents that you might remember, but not share with others? If so, is this for a particular reason? (e.g. because they are embarrassing, need too much explanation of the context, remember the holiday when alone etc.)

6. About the respondent

1. Occupation

2. Age

3. Male / Female

4. Level of education attained

(V) Question schedule for phase two

- 1a. When was your most recent cultural holiday in Europe?
- 1b. Where did you go?
- 1c. For how long?
- 1d. Could you briefly tell me what type of things you particularly like to do on holiday?
(relaxing, visiting museums, visiting castles, eating in local restaurants, walking etc.)
- 2a. What do you associate with the word 'souvenir'?
- 2b. What type of things or 'souvenirs', if any, did you bring back from that holiday?
3. Thinking about the souvenir(s) (other than photographs) you bought or collected on your last holiday:
 - 3a. Was there one that you thought was particularly 'special'?
 - 3b. What was this? What was 'special' about the souvenir that you found?
 - 3c. Why does it mean so much to you?
 - 3d. What does it remind you of?
- 4a. What did you do with that souvenir when you returned home?
- 4b. How was it displayed or used? (if not answered by the above - try to make some notes about the context if possible)
- 5a. Do you collect or bring back other things from holiday, such as brochures or maps?
(if yes) What do you do with these after the holiday? Are they incorporated into albums etc.
- 5b. Do you bring back other objects as gifts? Who are these for? Are they purchased for a particular reason (e.g. a way of saying thank-you, or 'we remembered you' or because they would be particularly appreciated, or an excuse to buy a particular item).
6. Now, thinking about your last holiday once again, can you select three or four **photographs** that you particularly like.
Taking each photo in turn would you please:
 - a. describe what you see in the picture (as if I were blind) (write notes about what I think are the main features of the picture)
 - b. explain what you like about it
 - c. what it reminds you of (if not answered by 2a.)
- 7a. What did you do with these photographs when you returned home?
- 7b. Where are they kept? How are they displayed? Are they annotated?
- 7c. Do you sort them at all? If so how? In what order are they displayed? (e.g. chronologically)
Are any discarded? If so why / why not?
- 7d. In what contexts do you look at them after the holiday? Do you enjoy doing so?
- 7d. Do you ever make enlargements of your holiday photographs, or display them in frames?
Do you ever have duplicates made? And if so why?

(VI) Typical interview transcriptions

1. A phase one interview with a couple from Morningside

Transcription	Comments
<p>Please think about a European cultural holiday that you husband have been on in the last three years. And now think of an incident that occurred, which you remembered <u>added</u> to your experience of a place you visited. When you are ready please, describe when the incident occurred, in what context, and why it was particularly memorable.</p>	<p>The respondent was given time to think about which holiday and incident they were going to talk about.</p>
<p>The last two holidays I think of are one when we went to Denmark and one when we went to Holland and Belgium and on both occasions I have found that doing canal trips really begins to bring the city to life because you can then begin to imagine what it must have been like, perhaps in the eighteenth century, and you get away from every thing else. And certainly with a city like Amsterdam that is what really brings it to life.</p> <p>[Pause] When we first arrived in Amsterdam it was fairly late at night, we had gone out for a walk and I was just horrified, the youth of Europe was hanging around, there were people openly shooting up heroine</p> <p>[pause] you knew why they were all there and there was terrific graffiti all over Amsterdam and my initial reaction was I hate this. I think it was the graffiti that really got me [pause] every-where. Then we went on the canal trip which obviously took you right back, you could actually believe that you were there in a Rembrandt painting or Vermeer or what ever... it was so peaceful and so quiet and you could see the buildings and imagine what they would have been like and that changed my vision of the city completely and from then on I really began to enjoy it. But I think it was the sense of history came alive through the architecture and because you were on a canal trip there was not much in the way of cars and away from the shop area.</p> <p>The other thing on that trip which has brought it to life, which has brought other holidays alive was going to the local museum where you could trace back the history of the place and actually see how the city had developed... that's another thing we try to do on our holidays...get an overview and what its all about and I think that helps you when you are walking along the streets...I like the buzz of being somewhere different, a different culture, not beach holidays.</p> <p>And can you think of a negative incident, something that detracted</p>	<p>Choosing which holiday to talk about. Experience was not limited to one holiday. Made an impression through repetition? History coming 'alive' Context is the negative arrival and modern culture of place.</p> <p>Trip inspires imagination about past as known through famous works of art.</p> <p>Mood and atmosphere. Experience changed opinion of place, learning experience.</p> <p>Past preferred to present. Summed up at end of incident. This leads to a second memory (unprompted by the interviewer). Again common theme for holidays / history coming 'alive' Learning experience. Atmosphere.</p> <p>As mentioned briefly above.</p> <p>Effect on daughter</p> <p>Sense of security threatened.</p> <p>Drug use – unwanted sight.</p> <p>Culture shock, but does consider social context.</p>

<p>from your experience of a place?</p> <p>In Amsterdam certainly the drugs problem was quite extreme. My daughter who was sixteen at the time was with us and she actually felt treated, when she was on her own, people where beginning to approach her. There were one or two people who were absolutely out of their minds, coming up asking for money. I think that was quite threatening. On one occasion the canal side road was blocked off and all the police were there and it was pretty obvious what was going on. Even on the canal side there are people taking drugs. I know their policy is not in favour of taking hard drugs but there seem to be an awful lot of hard drugs around. The other thing is that I couldn't get used to going into a coffee shop and being asked if you ordered coffee, "was that all" it took a while before we caught on to exactly what they meant. It was a cultural shock. You think that you are terribly liberal until suddenly you are faced with something like that.</p> <p>And, if you had to choose one thing from the holiday that most sticks in your mind, that you remember clearly, what would that be?</p> <p>Bruges was just magical. Again we took a lovely trip along the river and that really brought mediaeval Brøgue to life. It always seems to be canal trips that bring the place to life, it was just lovely, there is a tremendous trade link between Scotland and Bruges in the 15th century and I had read quite a bit before hand and that was really lovely.</p> <p><i>Another of the major things that strikes me is just the way that people in those countries can speak and use our language [pause] and I always come home and quote situations. We met a Dutch taxi-driver, who was able to talk about the economics of his country in our language, or you go into a corner-shop for a box of tissues and they say, " which colour do you want?" Everybody has such a command of English. It strikes me how much they know about our culture and language and yet we are totally ignorant of theirs.</i></p> <p>About the holiday in general... obviously you went to Holland and Belgium. When did you go? And for how long?</p> <p><i>Three years ago, for ten days.</i></p> <p>Had you visited the area previously?</p> <p>I had been to Amsterdam once before when I was about sixteen and my husband and I went together without the children about three years before. Again, I had been to Bruges when I was sixteen. I like city holidays.</p>	<p>Reaction to experience challenges self-image.</p> <p>Returns to canal theme / history coming 'alive', but different city (no drug problem there?) Link with Scotland. Prepared for trip by reading, ongoing learning experience.</p> <p>Thinks of another incident unprompted. Use of such incidents in social discourse</p> <p>Language</p> <p>Not a one off visit, but not a frequent visitor either.</p> <p>Wanting to visit a number of places.</p> <p>May combine cultural tourism with other forms of tourism</p> <p>Get bored on a beach</p> <p>'Day trips' obviously not included in this.</p>
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<p>Would you go back? <i>I would visit both places again for their history and ambience, architecture, churches. I prefer northern European countries I feel more at home and they are cleaner. We quite frequently return to a place, but there are so many other places to see.</i></p> <p>How frequently do you holidays include a cultural element? <i>Our holidays always include a cultural element for example our walking holidays are combined with a couple of days in local towns. Or we may spend have a beach style holiday in Italy combined with visits to Florence, Vienna or Pizza. We are both quite interested in history and enjoy it. We get bored on a beach. It is nice to see how the locals live. We have been on a couple of day trips organised by the Scotsman such as Prague for the day, Berlin for the day, terrific, a short flavour.</i></p> <p>How often do you go on holiday? <i>We go abroad most years, just the one main holiday.</i></p> <p>And, how often do you visit cultural attractions in Scotland? <i>Well, we visit stately homes in Scotland. We are members of the National Trust. In Edinburgh, we might walk along the High Street and go into Gladstone's land at the weekend. It is one of the reasons that we like living in Edinburgh.</i></p> <p>Changing tack a bit... do you think it is important to remember what happened on holiday? <i>Yes, very important. It keeps you going through the long winter nights.</i></p> <p>Do you talk about the holiday after you return home? <i>I would only discuss holiday with others if they are interested and ask me... I once recommended a hotel to friends... probably with people who I have know have been away on holiday themselves... but I'm very aware there are friends and neighbours who are not able to for what ever reason, financial or health... but certainly within the family and in particular with my husband.</i></p> <p>Are there any holiday memories that you probably wouldn't share with others? <i>I might not mention the bad memories.</i></p> <p>When are you likely to remember a past holiday? <i>When watching TV and a place you have been to is mentioned, newspaper articles, novels set in that city or place, that sort of thing.</i> (A3; F49)</p> <p>Your wife was telling me about your holiday to Holland and Belgium, and it would be useful to me if you could talk about that holiday too.</p>	<p>Sustaining value of memory</p> <p>Reticent about telling others /social context.</p> <p>Withholding negative memories</p> <p>Memory prompts. (Doesn't mention winter nights again!)</p> <p>Vivid memory because of the rain, not a completely happy memory? Similar attitude to wife / same pleasure in boat trips.</p> <p>Expectation versus experience Compounded by the weather? Comparison between places – hierarchy of favourite places?</p>
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<p>OK.</p> <p>Firstly, could you think of an incident that occurred, which you remembered <u>added</u> to your experience of a place you visited. When you are ready please, describe when the incident occurred, in what context, and why it was particularly memorable.</p> <p><i>In Belgium... I particularly enjoyed Bruges I've always found trips by boats round towns really bring them to life this particular one in Bruges is memorable because it poured with rain but even so Bruges is full of character.</i></p> <p>And can you think of a negative incident, something that <u>detracted</u> from your experience of a place?</p> <p><i>Brussels, again it poured with rain, we went with expectations of a magical capital city and finding [sic] the walk around Brussels was generally intensely disappointing... drab and bureaucratic and hoping street after street that you are going to capture something that is going to life your spirits. In comparison with Bruges intensely disappointing.</i></p> <p>And, if you had to choose one thing from the holiday that most sticks in your mind, that you remember clearly, what would that be?</p> <p>Holland, Anne Franks house and the canals, just picking up the whole atmosphere and spirit of Amsterdam... Visiting the market place at Delft was almost accidental... a bonus. There was a magical an atmosphere about it and the buildings are special, the people are friendly and the hustle and bustle about the market place... I picked up a leather wallet there with was ridiculously cheap, but very high quality such a fine article. If it feel to pieces, so what? But, I've had that wallet happily for three years. Chasing after Gouda cheeses... at the end of the day you think that's fantastic a real golden nugget that we hadn't expected. Anne Franks house was a focal point on the magic of walking down the canals. Our daughter was brought up on the story of Anne Frank and they have actually done it in a very moving, memorable way, there's a sense of history and feeling for that particular period. All quite moving.</p> <p>Do you think it is important to remember what happened on holiday?</p> <p><i>It is wonderful if can remember holidays. I suffer from a poor memory. My wife's memory is much stronger. I rely very heavily on photographs to bring back memories and write a diary for that reason. If I didn't keep a diary it would just disappear all together.</i></p> <p>Do you talk about the holiday when you return home?</p> <p>Discussion does prompt the memory, usually just a short time after return. We talk in greater details about little details, stories that go into family history for</p>	<p>Starts thinking about Anne Franks House and then skips to the market in Delft.</p> <p>A souvenir!</p> <p>Unexpected find.</p> <p>Returns to topic of Anne Frank's house.</p> <p>Important because of the book. Sense of history (as above).</p> <p>Importance of souvenirs as memory prompts</p> <p>Duration of memories / context of sharing memories</p> <p>Incorporating stories into family history – interesting. Social context – importance of sharing stories / experiences.</p> <p>Not likely to be restricted to holiday experiences.</p> <p>To frame second phase of interviews.</p> <p>Gender divide? Women collect souvenirs, men take photographs.</p> <p>Recording personal visiting experience.</p>
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<p>example when B.A. lost our luggage and we got it a day later. We bring it up when other people raise such a story. I probably tell more stories about Venice, because come across more people who have been there.</p> <p>And, apart from that when are you likely to recall the holiday? <i>I remember a place if someone mentions it. Or T.V. programmes, books.</i></p> <p>Is there anything about a holiday that you specifically wouldn't tell other people about? <i>I wouldn't tell people about any marital disputes, or particularly embarrassing to one member of family. We have a sense of loyalty.</i></p> <p>And, finally do you collect any souvenirs? <i>I'm not really concerned about souvenirs. That is more Anne's interest. I take photos of people who are on holiday or shots of scenery or streets that hopefully will rekindle the memory. For example, Bruges was a particularly pretty little town and I wanted to capture to streets. Also, shops and places that have actually been to, for example, if have climbed a bell tower I will take a photo of it and if there was a spectacular view from the top will take one of that too.</i></p> <p>[Note that off tape he mentioned his initial disappointment with Amsterdam on the first evening he was very aware of the graffiti and drugs and litter. His opinion was changed by museum and when he saw old paintings in the galleries and began to imagine how it used to be.] (A3; M48)</p>	<p>Interesting that this does not seem to increase the disappointment with modern Amsterdam. Very similar to wife.</p>
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1. A phase two interview with a woman from Morningside

Transcription	Comments
<p>1a. When was your most recent European cultural holiday? 1b. Where did you go and for how long? <i>April 1998. We went to Berlin for three nights.</i></p> <p>2a. What do you associate with the word souvenir? 2b. What type of things or 'souvenirs', if any did you bring back from that holiday?</p> <p>In the main what we tend to bring back is pictures, because that visualises for us some aspect of the holiday that we remember. Or objects, we bring back say a China thing. When we go somewhere we will always bring something back, to remind us or where we went. It will be something that we want to use or display at home. We don't tend to buy things that are the souvenir-touristy thing. It is more because we actually want to buy it. We do try quite hard to always buy something.</p> <p>On this holiday we bought a print, because we knew that we would put the print up, where as if we bought a pen we would never really use it, it would just get lost, or ash trays and things like that. Even if we are desperate having gone somewhere, we will buy a mug - that is in desperation, but we know that we will use it. We prefer to buy something that we are going to use. But we will often buy things that we like to look at. In fact it may just be easier to show you (going of to find examples). That is obviously the print that we bought from Berlin, of the Brandenburg Gate. Where as we went to Thailand for our honeymoon and we bought that (colourful picture of a fish) because Thailand was mainly a water holiday. Whereas we went to Australia last Christmas and new year and we were in the Desert, and we went out to Aires rock and that (indicating a small vase in colours graduating from bright blue at the top to reds at the base) are all the colour of Aires rock and sums up a lot of Australia. So it has to be colour-wise, something that reminds us as well. To us, Berlin is much more like that (indicating the print) it is much darker, greys and greens, whereas Australia was much more vibrant a place and Thailand was watery. So we try to bring back our thought of the place that we went to. So when we look at the object we think about how we enjoyed the place. So we either think about hot sunny weather or that it was a more serious historical place.</p> <p>3. Thinking about the souvenir(s), other than photographs,</p>	<p>Only asked first question but second question was also answered in the reply.</p> <p>Photographs as souvenirs Souvenirs for memory</p> <p>Useful or for display</p> <p>Distinction between items they buy and 'tourist' souvenirs</p> <p>Reiterates that the object must be used or displayed</p> <p>Illustrates point by finding other souvenirs</p> <p>Importance of colour as a 'memory key'</p> <p>Associations between colours and experience of place.</p> <p>Other 'prompt' questions from schedule were not required, other prompt used instead.</p> <p>Husband purchases stamps as part of collection. Print bought as a joint purchase.</p> <p>Picture represents their experience and understanding</p>

<p>you bought on your last holiday:</p> <p>3a. Was there one that you thought was particularly 'special'?</p> <p>3b. And why is it 'special' to you?</p> <p>The print was the only thing that we bought on the Berlin holiday, apart from stamps. My husband bought some stamps; he buys stamps wherever we go.</p> <p>(And what made you buy this particular print?)</p> <p>Because of the Brandenburg Gate, a place where East met West, which to us was the whole point of going to Berlin, the mixture of East and West. To see how they are joining the whole city together. And that is what you saw every-where. We were staying close to the East side of Berlin we kept travelling across and saw how the water was being reconnected on the two sides, and the electricity. It was like a building sight every-where, all the different bits that they are having to reconnect, and redevelop having operated as two separate camps. So to us the Brandenburg gate was very much symbolic of Berlin, where the wall ended.</p> <p>4. What did you do with the print when you returned home?</p> <p>We will frame it and put it up. We have got quite a lot of prints, which are all up the stairs, so we will put it up amongst those.</p> <p>5. Now, thinking about your last holiday once again, can you select three or four photographs that you particularly like?</p> <p>Please take each photo in turn and</p> <p>5a. describe what you see in the picture</p> <p>5b. explain what you like about it, and</p> <p>5c. what it reminds you of.</p> <p>This is of a church that was bombed during the war. Basically they have left it as a reminder of what happened and they have built a modern church right beside it. I thought it was very symbolic, that fact that they had just left it. They have stabilised it so that it won't fall down, but it is a reminder of the terrible things that happened. That to us is very symbolic. I think if we had found a bit of the Berlin wall, we would have taken a photograph of that, but you can't find any of that now. It is all gone, so that to us was the next sort of thing to take. It was quite interesting going into it and going into the new modern church that they have along side it.</p> <p>The other thing that summed up Berlin to us was the</p>	<p>of Berlin.</p> <p>Intention to display (not yet done so). Part of a collection of pictures.</p> <p>Did bring back gifts and brochures, but did not elaborate on this.</p> <p>Time for respondent to do this.</p> <p>Three photographs (or sets) chosen</p> <p>Two views of the same site</p> <p>Changing symbols available to photograph</p> <p>Visiting experience</p> <p>Again two photographs used to illustrate this – this time overlapping to form a panorama.</p> <p>One picture has two meanings Indicates trees in the foreground</p> <p>Visiting experience leads to general comments about touring style</p> <p>Returns to meaning of picture to 'sum up'</p> <p>Third photograph Again, something that was of central importance to the</p>
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<p>building works every-where. All you see is cranes every-where, because they are having to link east and west, and they are re-building every thing. They are moving the City Chambers they are moving every thing so that it is more centralised between the two sides. That to us was Berlin, building every-where, all you heard was diggers every-where. The other thing about this picture is the Tier-garten, which we walked through for miles all over the place. It connects the different sights of Berlin. We actually walked through it, because what we like to do when we go to a European city is to be able to walk a lot. We might take the odd bus from time to time but we like to be able to walk on foot a lot to see every thing. We tend to do our own tours. We get out our guidebook and go off. The Tier-garten was to us an amazing place, being able to walk through it and come out in different areas of Berlin. We had a great time walking through it, but the one thing you did find all the time were building works (again referring to the horizon of the picture).</p> <p>That is just a sort of victory column. But we went to a lot of places and we kept seeing it. So we made an effort to go and see it. We actually walked up inside it. People do lots of marches and things like that around it. We spent quite a bit of time walking up to it. It was quite a long walk. But we kept seeing this thing every-where that we went, because it was so tall. So I found it quite interesting. That and because it was very historical and so my husband liked it.</p> <p>7. What do you do with these photos when you return home?</p> <p>Now that I am on maternity leave the idea is for me to put them all (<i>the photographs</i>) in album (<i>burst of laughter</i>). That is why we have kept the guidebooks, so that I can go back to the guidebooks and try to write underneath what the site was. We try to put them in albums, but we are a couple of years behind. I'll put them in albums, that way at least we will now what the site was, and things like that and we can look back. Sometimes, for example Paris we have been to twice because it is such a huge place. So we like to see which parts we have been to and then choose new places.</p> <p><i>Do you sort them at all? If so how? Are any discarded?</i></p> <p>We sort our photographs in a chronological way, when we get there to when we go. Yes, some of them we do bin, if they don't come out, if its not a good picture or if</p>	<p>holiday, a recurring theme as opposed to a one off experience.</p> <p>Visiting experience Learning experience</p> <p>Intention versus what is likely to happen.</p> <p>Intention to index pictures Delay putting pictures into albums, time constraint. Use of albums to plan future trips; avoidance of duplication. Seeing 'new' places.</p> <p>Technical quality Duplication Not actually thrown away, but kept as 'seconds'. Number of photographs</p>
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its a view that we have taken five times! Those ones we just tend to put back in the packet, in a box. Take one camera and two films in a week, long weekend so only took one. (C19; F30)	
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